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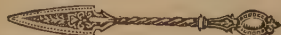
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ART. I.—THE CHRIST OF HISTORY.

1. *Jesus or Christ?* Essays by the late Rev. G. TYRRELL, the Right Rev. E. S. TALBOT, D.D., Bishop of Southwark, Professor Dr. H. WEINEL, Professor PERCY GARDNER, Professor Dr. PAUL WILH. SCHMIEDEL, Professor HENRY JONES, the Rev. RICHARD MORRIS, B.D., Principal Sir OLIVER LODGE, the Rev. Canon HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, the Rev. JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J., Professor Dr. NATHAN SÖDERBLOM, the Rev. Principal A. E. GARVIE, M.A., D.D., the Rev. R. J. CAMPBELL, M.A., the Rev. JAMES DRUMMOND, D.D., LL.D., Professor BENJAMIN W. BACON, D.D., the Rev. Principal J. E. CARPENTER, D.D., D.Litt., JAMES COLLIER, the Rev. R. ROBERTS. Being the Hibbert Journal Supplement for 1909. (London: Williams and Norgate. 1909.)
2. *Paulus.* Von WILLIAM WREDE. Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher für die deutsche christliche Gegenwart. Zweite Auflage, 11–20 Tausend. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]. 1907.)
3. *Von Reimarus zu Wrede: Eine Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung.* Von ALBERT SCHWEITZER, Lic. theol. Dr. phil. Privatdozent an der evang. theol. Fakultät zu Strassburg. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]. 1906.)
4. *The Message of the Son of Man.* By EDWIN A. ABBOTT. (London: A. and C. Black. 1909.)
5. *The Person of Our Lord and Recent Thought.* By CHARLES

- FREDERICK NOLLOTH, M.A., Oriel College, Oxford, formerly Rector of All Saints, Lewes. (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited. 1908.)
6. *Christianity at the Cross-roads*. By GEORGE TYRRELL. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1909.)
 7. *Jesus according to S. Mark*. By J. M. THOMPSON, Fellow and Dean of Divinity, S. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Gloucester. (London: Methuen and Co. [1909].)
 8. *Outline of New Testament Christology. A Study of Genetic Relationships within the Christology of the New Testament Period*. By JOHN COWPER GRANBERY, Ph.D. 'Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature related to the New Testament issued under the Direction of the Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek of the University of Chicago.' Second Series, Vol. II. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1909.)
 9. *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*. By WILLIAM SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Lady Margaret Professor, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Hon. Fellow of Exeter College; Fellow of the British Academy; Chaplain in ordinary to the King. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1907.)
 10. *Jesus and the Gospel: Christianity justified in the Mind of Christ*. By JAMES DENNEY, D.D., Professor of New Testament Language, Literature and Theology, United Free Church College, Glasgow. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. MCMVIII.)

And other Works.

IN a volume published under the title, 'Jesus or Christ?' the proprietors of the 'Hibbert Journal' have collected a number of essays by various contributors discussing the nature of our Lord's Person in the particular form in which that question is at present attracting attention. The origin of this discussion was an article which appeared in the 'Hibbert Journal' entitled 'Jesus or Christ? An Appeal for Consistency,' by a Mr. Roberts, who is we believe a Bradford Nonconformist minister. Except for the fact of its definitely

naturalistic Christology, the article itself was not very remarkable. It shews no particular knowledge or insight or wisdom. The essays, however, which have been published in connexion with it are an indication of the questions about our Lord's Personality which are being raised at the present time, and they form a useful introduction to the discussion of various phases of modern thought and investigation. The main thesis is that we must make a clear and marked distinction between the Jesus of history and the Christ of worship. While the Jesus of history was a mere man, with all the limitations, religious, moral, and intellectual, of the times in which He lived, the object of Christian worship has been a spiritual ideal to which we may provisionally apply the word Christ. This is how Mr. Roberts expresses himself :

'I will take the risk of much ridicule by saying frankly that the "historical Christ," as used by the apologists, is a phrase which embarrasses me. If it means an enriching and expanding Ideal "to which history bears its witness, and from the hope inspired by which humanity may draw encouragement and strength in its conflict with ignorance and wrong, I, for one, will subscribe myself a believer. I admit the "Ideal" has had history, and that in this sense it may well be described as historical. But I do not think this is at all what the eminent scholars I have been dealing with mean. They habitually quote as divinely decisive, words and actions attributed to Jesus of Nazareth. This conveys to me the impression that they believe Jesus was God. Yet almost every chapter of the Gospels bears testimony to the limitations within which Jesus lived and wrought. And though the physical limitations are now freely admitted even by conservative scholars, the political, economic, social, intellectual, and ethical limitations are no less apparent.'

¹

There is a good deal that lays itself open to criticism in this quotation. It suggests, although that seems impossible, that the writer does not know the meaning of the word 'Christ.' There is something very naïve, to say the least, in Mr. Roberts' surprise. Moreover, there is a curious

¹ *Jesus or Christ?* p. 281.

omission in all the discussions we have seen on this subject. The question is throughout ignored as to whether the Christ of worship has any objective reality or remains only an ideal. We do not propose, however, to spend more time on this passage, but will pass at once to the German theologian who provides, if not the inspiration, at any rate the critical basis, of the above speculations.

It is to the late Dr. William Wrede, Professor at Breslau, that we owe the resuscitation of the theory which would ascribe the main tenets of Christianity to the teaching of St. Paul. Whatever we may or may not know about the historical Jesus, one thing, we gather, is certain : he was a mere man. He was, no doubt, a teacher of righteousness. He may have been a prophet, but he was not the Messiah, nor believed to have been such. It is to St. Paul that we owe the theological Christ. He had not known Jesus after the flesh, therefore he was not subject to the same disadvantages as the other disciples. His religious imagination was filled with the apocalyptic dreams of a Pharisaic devotee ; he was a man of visions and hallucinations ; he had already conceived the ideal of the divine Christ, the Son of God ; then, when the psychological working of his mind or the pangs of his conscience converted him to be the follower of Him whom he had persecuted, he saw Him, not as the prophet of Nazareth, but as this divine Christ ; and, inspired by His teaching, the Church constructed its theology and wrote its Gospels. Such we understand to be Professor Wrede's point of view, and this is the thesis we propose to examine.

I.

Our first question is, what did our Lord teach about Himself ? what did His disciples and followers think of Him ? Here of course we are pulled up by the difficulty that, according to the above theory, we cannot trust our Gospels. Anything which conflicts with these speculations is described as a later addition. We will, to begin with, content ourselves with one question : did our Lord claim to be the Messiah,

the Christ? and the answer must be decisive—that He did. The fact of His crucifixion seems to be conclusive. Had He been only a prophet of righteousness, He would not have been put to death. He claimed to be the Messiah; His disciples accepted Him as such; and the question at issue with the multitude was, whether He was really the Messiah or not. As Dr. Estlin Carpenter writes: ‘At Caesarea Philippi the decisive question is asked and answered, “Whom say ye that I am?” “Thou art the Messiah.” As I read the story, Jesus accepts the title, and formally enters Jerusalem in that character.’¹

Now if this be so it must be remembered that there were just the same presuppositions in the minds of others as of St. Paul. To limit the acquaintance with apocalyptic literature to him is impossible. No doubt his great religious intensity and intellectual power may have made his conceptions more vivid, but what he thought the contemporaries of our Lord thought too. They too had read the Old Testament: they too were inspired by Daniel the prophet: they too waited for the Lord from Heaven. The Messiah whom St. Paul expected they expected. So far as regards apocalyptic visions indeed, they were more natural to the people than to St. Paul, for the apocalypse represented popular literature and was looked down upon by the Rabbis and their followers. No doubt the expectations took varied forms. Some thought merely of a ruler and a conqueror, but with many the conception implied much more, and even those who held the more limited national ideal associated the Messiah with attributes almost divine. Here is what a writer tells us who lived about forty years before our Lord’s birth:

‘Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David, in the time which thou, O God, knowest, that he may reign over Israel thy servant; and gird him with strength that he may break in pieces them that rule unjustly.’ . . . ‘He shall destroy the ungodly nations with the word of his mouth, so that at his rebuke the nations may flee before him.’ . . . ‘And he shall gather

¹ *Jesus or Christ?* p. 233.

together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness ; and shall judge the tribes of the people that hath been sanctified by the Lord his God.' . . . ' He shall judge the nations and the peoples with the wisdom of his righteousness.' . . . ' And a righteous king and taught of God is he that reigneth over them.' . . . ' He himself also is pure from sin.' . . . ' And he shall not faint all his days, because he leaneth upon his God ; for God shall cause him to be mighty through the spirit of holiness, and wise through the counsel of understanding, with might and righteousness. And the blessing of the Lord is with him in might, and his hope in the Lord shall not faint. And who can stand up against him ? he is mighty in his works and strong in the fear of God.' ¹

Even this conception, taking the form of an ideal earthly sovereignty, has its supernatural elements ; but there were many other thoughts which the Scriptures had given, far transcending this. He was the Anointed of the Lord, the Son of God, the Son of Man, as we shall see ; He was the Lord ; He was to come to His temple with supernatural power ; He was to judge the nations. Conceptions such as these could be learned from the Scriptures ; we find them in apocalyptic literature ; they are as normal an element of the popular religion as they were of St. Paul. The difficulty, indeed, that the Pharisees had, was that there were not the obvious outward supernatural signs attached to our Lord which they considered necessary to prove His superhuman origin and His claim to the Messiahship.²

Our first point, then, is that what St. Paul thought, his contemporaries also thought ; that if they looked upon our Lord as the Messiah it was just as natural that they should ascribe divine prerogative to Him as it was for St. Paul. We cannot call Him the Messiah and then interpret the word Messiah in accordance with the particular prejudices of academic latitudinarianism.

¹ *Psalms of Solomon* (ed. Ryle and James), xvii 23 sqq.

² There is a very good summary of the Messianic ideas at the time of our Lord by Dr. Estlin Carpenter. *Jesus or Christ ?* pp. 227-30.

II.

But can we get any idea of what claims our Lord made for Himself? Let us begin by taking one definite phrase, the title 'Son of Man.' All our accounts represent Him as habitually speaking of Himself as the Son of Man. There are, it is well known, certain remarkable facts about this phrase. It is found in the Gospels and, with one exception, in the Gospels only, of the New Testament writings; and in the Gospels it is only used by our Lord of Himself. It is difficult to imagine any combination of circumstances which would give us better reason for accepting both the genuineness of the phrase and of those passages in which it occurs. Naturally, the title has been examined with the greatest care, and various attempts have been made to discount its significance. It has been suggested that our Lord used it not of Himself but of one whom He foretold, and that the disciples misunderstood Him. Such a suggestion is, on the face of it, most improbable, and entirely breaks down in the case of many passages. 'Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head.' Surely these words must have been spoken by our Lord, and by our Lord of Himself. It has been suggested again that 'the Son of Man' is merely an Aramaic periphrasis for 'man' and is not a title at all. Such an explanation will suit certain passages, is in accordance with Semitic idiom, and suggested, perhaps, certain thoughts which our Lord conveyed through the title. But it is equally clear that, for example, when our Lord speaks of the Son of Man coming in glory, He is using it as a definite title.¹

Like most of the other terms used by early Christianity, it has had a long history and different shades of meaning. It was used by Ezekiel, in the Psalms, by the prophet

¹ We can only refer to the very interesting book on the subject by Dr. Abbott, *The Message of the Son of Man*. It is as interesting and suggestive as all Dr. Abbott's writings. We say this although we often do not agree with him.

Daniel, and we can trace the influence of all these writers. The well-known passages in the Book of Enoch, passages which were written probably about a hundred years before our Lord's time, are sufficient to tell us the associations which attached to the word.

'And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of Days? And he answered and said unto me, "This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden, because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him, and his lot before the Lord of Spirits hath surpassed everything in uprightness for ever. And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen will arouse the kings and the mighty ones from their couches and the strong from their thrones, and will loosen the reins of the strong and grind to powder the teeth of the sinners. And he will put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms because they do not extol and praise him, nor thankfully acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them."'¹

'And at that hour that Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits and his name before the Head of Days. And before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of the heaven were made his name was named before the Lord of Spirits. He will be a staff to the righteous on which they will support themselves and not fall, and he will be the light of the Gentiles and the hope of those who are troubled of heart. All who dwell on earth will fall down and bow the knee before him and will bless and laud and celebrate with song the Lord of Spirits. And for this reason has he been chosen and hidden before Him before the creation of the world and for evermore. And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him to the holy and righteous, for he preserveth the lot of the righteous.'²

'And there will stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty, and the exalted . . . and they will be terrified, and their countenance will fall, and pain will seize them when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory. . . . And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth will fall down on their faces before him and

¹ *The Book of Enoch* (ed. Charles), xlvi 1-5.

² *Ibid.* xlviii 2-7.

worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man, and will petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands. . . . And the righteous and elect will be saved on that day and will never again from thenceforth see the face of the sinners and unrighteous. And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them, and with that Son of Man will they eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever.' ¹

'And there was great joy amongst them, and they blessed and glorified and extolled because the name of the Son of Man was revealed unto them. And he sat on the throne of his glory, and the sum of judgment was committed unto him, the Son of Man, and he caused the sinners and those who have led the world astray to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth. . . . And from henceforth there will be nothing that is corruptible ; for the Son of Man has appeared and sits on the throne of his glory, and all evil will pass away before his face and depart.' ²

We need not discuss the exact relation which exists between the use of the title by our Lord and that in the Book of Enoch. It is sufficient for our purpose to establish the fact that it was a definite title, and that by applying it to Himself our Lord claimed what we should call supernatural powers and possessions ; and this we cannot doubt if we study what is reported of Him. We find the claim throughout His life and teaching. He speaks with authority. He claims as Son of Man to forgive sins. He fulfils and supersedes that law which had been given from God through the hands of angels. He made Himself the centre of devotion and discipleship. He lays down the condition of entrance into the Kingdom, the promise of everlasting life. Always He acts in a manner which might justify the Scribes and Pharisees in their accusation of blasphemy, His relations in saying that He was beside Himself, or His followers in describing Him as the Messiah, the Son of the living God. Above all, He is the Son of God, and as such claims an intimate relation with the Father. The Messiah was to be the Son of God. Had not the psalmist said : ' The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my son, this day have

¹ *The Book of Enoch* (ed. Charles), lxii 3-14.

² *Ibid.* lxix 26-29.

I begotten thee' ? This title also had been used before our Lord's time.

"And in those days," saith the Lord, "they shall call and testify to the children of earth concerning their wisdom: show it unto them; for ye are their guides and a recompense over the whole earth. For I and My Son will unite with them for ever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and ye will have peace: rejoice, ye children of uprightness. Amen." ¹

Our Lord, moreover, speaks of Himself as Son with full recognition of the meaning of the word. It has been maintained that He did so, merely ascribing to Himself the same relation to God that He ascribed to men who were to become the children of God; and some writers have proposed to substitute the expression 'Child of God' for 'Son of God,' in order to make this clear. It is obvious that that was not what the words meant in the Gospels, and that this is only another case of reading into them the limited conceptions of the present time. The words ascribed to St. Peter, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,' did not mean this. 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased' did not mean this. That was not the meaning of the High Priest when he said, 'Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?' It was not the meaning of our Lord when He spoke of 'the will of my Father which is in heaven'; when He said, 'Him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven'; when He said, 'No man knoweth the Father but the Son'; when He said, 'O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.' In such passages we are admitted into the inner shrine of our Lord's consciousness, and we cannot limit His thoughts by our narrow human conceptions.

There can be, we believe, no doubt that our Lord claimed

¹ *The Book of Enoch* (ed. Charles), cv 1. Professor Charles gives a short history of the use of the title in his note. 'There is no difficulty about the phrase "My Son" as applied to the Messiah by the Jews: cf. 4 Ezra vii 28, 29; xiv 9. If the righteous are called "God's children" in lxii 11, the Messiah was pre-eminently the Son of God. Moreover, the early Messianic interpretation of Ps. ii would naturally lead to such an expression.'

to be the Messiah, the Son of Man and the Son of God, and that in making that claim He believed that He possessed superhuman attributes. The question whether He rightly made that claim, whether He was what the Gospels make us believe that He was, is, of course, a different matter. But the doubt whether He made this claim has arisen, not on any historical or critical grounds but simply from the attempt to reconstruct the Gospel narrative in accordance with rationalistic prejudices.

III.

We must pause a moment to draw attention to certain phases through which the criticism of the New Testament has been passing. We are all of us familiar with those various types of rationalistic interpretation which have prevailed for many years past, and of which Professor Harnack's work on the *Essence of Christianity* is the best instance. All these works have the same character. They are impressed with the religious significance of the life of Christ, but they feel strongly the difficulties which the modern mind experiences in the face of the claims which the Church has made on His behalf. They have therefore on the assumed basis of criticism attempted to rewrite the life and teaching of Jesus in a manner which will not hurt the intellectual conscience of the modern professor. By the application of criticism all that is unpalatable is eliminated and a residuum is produced which is, it is alleged, the real teaching of our Lord. It is the kernel separated from the husk. This method of investigation has been exposed to a searching criticism by Dr. Albert Schweitzer in a work entitled '*Von Reimarus zu Wrede*,' in which we are presented with a profoundly interesting survey of the investigations on the life of Christ, mostly carried out in Germany, during the last century and a half. It is a work which calls up many reflexions, but we must confine ourselves to the writer's own conclusions. Here is his judgement of the methods to which we have just referred :

‘ However different are the results attained, in arriving at the kernel the methods employed are in all cases the same, cutting out and explaining away. Every investigator, says Wrede, finally arranges so that he accepts that part of tradition which can find a place in his reconstruction of the events and his conception of historical credibility, but rejects all the rest.’ ¹

Some of us who have been saying very much this sort of thing for many years are rather interested in finding it stated so clearly in a work of this character. But what solution does Schweitzer offer? The solution he offers is that we must substitute for the academic interpretation the eschatological interpretation. Everything is historical and everything is eschatological. Christ said just what the Jewish apocalypses said, with this exception, that He looked upon Himself as destined to be the Son of Man. For the benefit of our readers we shall quote the admirable summary of this point of view which is given by the late Father Tyrrell in his posthumous work, ‘ Christianity at the Cross-roads.’ ²

‘ He regarded Himself, in His earthly state, as the promised Son of David, and the “suffering servant” who was to be glorified eventually as the Son of Man. Of the nearness of the final catastrophe He was convinced, His own advent into the world was guarantee for that. So far, and as far as He had already seen Satan falling from Heaven and the demoniacs quailing before Him, He could speak of the Kingdom as already on earth—“even at the doors.” It might burst forth in a year; it could not delay beyond a generation. His work on earth was to prepare and hasten the Kingdom—to close the last chapter of human history. He was here avowedly in the rôle of a prophet—the prophet from Nazareth; and being destined to shine forth as the Son of Man He was here incognito. He was

¹ *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, p. 330. English readers will find a very convenient summary of recent criticism in Dr. Sanday’s lectures on *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*.

² For a fuller discussion reference should be made to Father Tyrrell’s deeply interesting book. Of course he personally only accepts the correctness of this exposition of our Lord’s teaching in the limited manner in which we are prepared to do.

here, not to preach His own glory—that, the Father would reveal in due time—but the coming of the Kingdom—His Father's business. From the days of the Baptist, and thenceforth, the Kingdom of Heaven was to be stormed and hurried on by prayer and repentance. Repent, He cried, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. None but the righteous could enter in, or pass unconsumed through the fiery tribulations that were imminent—the wrath that was to come—or stand before the Son of Man in the approaching judgment.' ¹

So far we might recognize a correct description of one side of our Lord's teaching. The curious limitations, however, which are imposed on it become apparent in the following passage :

' Yet righteousness was not the substance of the Kingdom ; eternal life was not the moral life. In the Kingdom men were to be as the angels of God ; the moral struggle with all its conditions and occasions would be over, it would be rewarded by rest in glory, not by the glory of going on. Men would enter into the joy of their Lord, the Son of Man—a superhuman, not a human, state. There is no hint in all this of a Kingdom of Christ, a reign of morality here upon earth to be brought about by the gradual spread of Christ's teaching and example. The parables of the mustard seed and the leaven, adduced in its favour, are irrelevant. They merely contrast the slowness of the cause with the greatness of the effect ; man's natural efforts with God's supernatural response. Jesus did not come to reveal a new ethics of this life, but the speedy advent of a new world in which ethics would be superseded. Nor was His secret the fact that the expected temporal Messiah and Kingdom of Israel were parables of moral values. He thought of the Messiah and the Kingdom as did His contemporaries ; neither as temporal, nor yet as moral, but as transcendental and supernatural. Men were to be transformed and glorified ; heaven and earth were to be transfigured ; the just were to eat the same spiritual meat and drink the same spiritual drink at the heavenly banquet with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob ; there was to be no more death or sorrow or sin or temptation, for the former things were to pass away. The poor, the meek, the peacemakers, the merciful, the pure, the mourners, the hungerers after justice, the persecuted would be so no more ; and their

¹ *Christianity at the Cross-roads* (Longmans. 1909), pp. 48, 49.

virtues would cease with their occasions. The morality of Jesus was for this life, not for the next—the passing condition, not the abiding substance of blessedness. Nothing is original in the righteousness preached by Jesus. All is to be found in the prophets, psalmists and saints of the Jewish people, not to speak of the pagan moralists and saints. It represents but the highest dictates of man's purified heart and conscience. Much, however, is coloured by the immediate expectation of the end and is applicable only to such an emergency. In such a crisis it was not worth while to assert a thousand just claims that, in normal circumstances, could not be inculpably neglected. There was only time to seek the Kingdom of God in which all such losses would be made good.' ¹

A knowledge of contemporary thought shews us again how the sacraments were a natural and original part of our Lord's teaching, and that as sacraments.

'The Baptism of John was unto repentance and a new life. It was not a merely symbolic and ritual act, as we Modernists take for granted. The idea of sacraments or effectual symbols was as familiar to the Jewish as to the Hellenic mind of that day. It was dominant in the apocalyptic scheme, under the form of sealings and tokens. The Eucharist, as celebrated by Jesus, was not merely a figure but an effectual pledge of a participation in the Messianic banquet of the coming Kingdom.' ²

And so Jesus' expectation of His death, His desire for it, His knowledge of what was to befall Him are all historical and natural because eschatological.

'Except their dominion over the possessed, none of these predictions were fulfilled when the Apostles returned. For Jesus this was an indication that the Kingdom had to be stormed yet more violently. He would go forth and raise the Powers of Darkness against Himself and thus, by His own death, hasten the issue, and deliver from temptation those whose spirit was willing but whose flesh was weak. He would suffer in their place and give His life as a ransom for many. He would go up to Jerusalem and provoke the ministers of Evil to a final assault. Henceforth His life is a quest of that death which was to open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers. Such a death would

¹ *Christianity at the Cross-roads*, pp. 49–51.

² *Ibid.* p. 52.

necessarily be the death of the cross, with all its concomitant ignominies. His predictions of it were founded on His resolve ; that of His subsequent resurrection was founded on His Messianic self-consciousness. It behoved Him to suffer and so to enter into His glory. But His Christhood was still a secret, shared only by His disciples. It was to be revealed to the world only when He should have come in the clouds, vindicated by the Father, whose glory, and not His own, was the end of His earthly mission : " I have glorified Thee on the earth . . . and now glorify Thou Me, O Father." ' 1

Now if this be the last word of criticism, one result clearly follows. The Christ of religion is a true interpretation of the teaching of the Jesus of history. Whether or not that teaching be true is of course another question, but what Christians have always believed, and the Church has accepted and made the basis of its theology, is a true reproduction of the ideas of Jesus. This, it will be remembered, was the contention of M. Loisy in his controversy with Harnack. Whether or no his apologetic was in all ways sound may, perhaps, be doubted, but on the point at issue as to the right interpretation of our Lord's teaching there can, we believe, be no doubt at all that he was right. Harnack's intentions were excellent. He was aiming at making Christianity something which would appeal to his colleagues at Berlin and to the students whom he addressed. He makes the religion of Jesus to be one exactly in accordance with the prejudices of the professor, but he omits throughout the real religious element. He neither explains our Lord's hold upon human hearts nor His place as a great religious teacher. He made Jesus a professor of ethics, and a professor of ethics has never founded a religion. Jesus was the founder of a great religion because He was a great religious leader, and because what He taught was a religion which would appeal to men's hearts and consciences. And this is what all Christian history and religious experience witnesses to. It has not been the exposition of Christianity as a great ethical system which has stirred the consciences and roused the enthusiasm and transformed the heart of

¹ *Christianity at the Cross-roads*, p. 56.

mankind ; it has not been Unitarianism or Latitudinarianism ; but it has been the conception of a divine Christ who lived on earth as man, who has been the centre of human devotion, and has appealed to human affection.

Eschatology ? Yes. Nothing but eschatology ? Is it not possible that we may apply the same criticism to the modern eschatologists that they have applied to the too academic professor ? Do not they see only what suits their theories ? Do not they explain away as much as Harnack does ? We would suggest one or two reasons for thinking that this may be the case.

The great strength of the eschatological interpretation is that it is historical. We can read the Jewish apocalypses ; we know that they represented the current literature at the time of our Lord. We know that people thought and dreamed in just this way. The Gospel story is, in fact, exactly suited to its surroundings. The language used was the language of the time. It was not the language of Hellenistic Judaism ; it was not the language of the nascent Church ; it reflects the thoughts and ideas, the hopes and aspirations of Palestine, in particular of Galilee, in the days of Herod the king and Pontius Pilate. That Jesus said what He is reported to have said, we know, because He expressed Himself just in the manner and language in which He must have done at that time. The rationalistic interpretation is a hopeless anachronism.

But did the apocalypses represent all that people were thinking about ? Quite clearly not. The Jews of Palestine had other sources of inspiration. They read the Old Testament, and our Lord, we know, read it and used it and thought of it ; and the Old Testament contains much more than eschatology. There are many places where we shall find that if eschatology gives the language, the Old Testament gives the thought. The contemporaries of our Lord thought much on the question of civil government, and Jesus too deals with this question. They lived according to the Law and thought much of its claims, and Jesus deals with the whole relation of the Law to life. They went to doctors of the Law with questions of interpretation and

casuistry and hard sayings, and they came to Jesus too, and Jesus gave them His answers. Jesus reflected in His teaching all the currents of thought of His time, and therefore, although we are quite right to use eschatology to interpret what He says, if we limit our interpretation to this it will be very inadequate. A distinguished writer said recently: 'The key to the interpretation of the Gospels is eschatology.' In one sense that is true—it would be equally true to say that to obtain the real sense of the Gospels we must transcend eschatology.

Then there is another fact that our eschatological interpreters have forgotten. They have forgotten that they are dealing with one of the great facts of the world—with a book which has been universal in its influence, with a teacher who has created a world-wide religion, with a gospel which has been a message of life to all the nations of the earth. Would a religion which was simply eschatological dreams be able to do that? They have forgotten the intellectual greatness of the Gospel. They have forgotten that it does teach great principles of morality and life. They have forgotten that it does give principles which may be a guide to conduct. They have forgotten that many phrases which start with the current meaning take us far beyond it. Is there any difficulty in believing that of our Lord? Even judged by human standards, one who was able to do what He did must have been more than a mere religious fanatic or dreamer. To hold that our Lord was only this fails to solve the problem.

Does not the following quotation suggest the reason why so many investigators have not solved the problem? 'Far more important,' says Wrede, 'is the question how the Pauline conception of Christ arose. For anyone who, like Paul himself, sees in Jesus a supernatural divine being, there is, of course, no problem. But to anyone who holds Jesus *for what he was*, namely, a historical human person, the abyss between this man and the "Son of God" of Paul must appear portentous. Since the death of Jesus, a generation had not passed, and already his form had not only grown to be infinite, but was completely changed. How

came that? *It is not from the impression of the personality of Jesus that this image of the Christ was developed?* That has often been held, but never proved.¹ Do not the words we have italicized suggest that possibly here the difficulty lies? Wrede and his followers and predecessors have ruled out what may be the only true explanation, that Jesus was what the Church has held Him to be. And when we read the long list of Lives of Christ—Strauss, Bruno Baur, Renan, Réville, Keim, Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, all so learned, and able, and devoted to their work, all adding immensely to our materials for studying the human aspects of our Lord's work, all differing so profoundly one from another, equally confident of other people's infirmities and their own merit, all using a criticism which claims to be infallible for arriving at exactly the conclusion that they have wished to attain beforehand, are not we justified in beginning to ask, Is not this infinite variety itself a confession that some element of the truth has been left out? May not the Church after all be right not only in its interpretation of Jesus as a great religious teacher, but also in its belief that what Jesus taught was true?

IV.

We now come to the second part of our inquiry. Granted that the Christ of religion corresponds in conception to the Christ of history, or at any rate is a natural development, is it impossible that this conception should be true? Let us come back to Mr. Roberts' summary of his difficulties? It is the apparent limitations of our Lord's teaching that are hard to him. 'Did "God Himself" permit people to believe that exorcism was successfully performed?' he writes:

'What was there in "the forms of thought provided by his age" to prevent Him from condemning the fiscal oppressions and land monopolies of His time?' . . . 'Though much poetry has been expended upon it, I cannot understand what is meant

¹ *Paulus*, von William Wrede, p. 84.

by an "Imperfect God." Nor do I find any real assistance when homely English is exchanged for ambitious Greek, and scholars speak of a "Kenosis" and of a "Kenotic theory" involving real limitations in the Infinite and Omniscient God. The "emptying" of the Infinite God, whether in Greek or in English, is a process which conveys to me no intelligible meaning. Identifying Jesus with Christ, they make God a Being who is omnipotent, yet limited in power; omniscient, yet defective in knowledge; infinitely good, yet One who declines "to turn any part of His knowledge as God into science for man." This seems to me to be language which stultifies itself. It would be an abuse of language to say that it deals with a mystery. It is flat contradiction.'¹

When we come to examine Mr. Roberts' difficulties in detail we find that they are of two classes. The one is concerned with the fact that our Lord was apparently ignorant of Greek philosophy or modern science or social problems; the other, that He seems to have adopted all the erroneous beliefs of His time, and in particular sanctioned the pernicious belief in the reality of possession by evil spirits.

As regards the first class of objections, it is difficult to conceive any criticism which could reveal more evidently the want of insight and the mental limitations of the critic than Mr. Roberts' remarks. Let us picture to ourselves our Lord teaching the peasants of Galilee about the Copernican system or the theories of Newton or the logic of Aristotle or the art of Phidias. When we once think of that the idea becomes absurd. Clearly it was not His work. God has given man his intellect and mental endowments in order that he, by his own efforts, may work out for himself his knowledge of the world and of human nature, in order that he may build up for himself human life in all its fulness. Jesus did not come to save us the trouble of scientific investigation or political skill or artistic construction. He came to teach mankind Religion—religion in its most ideal presentment. And so with regard to social problems. What particular form of

¹ *Jesus or Christ?* pp. 281, 282.

social theory was He to come to teach? Was it to be the ideal of the early Victorian period which we think so inadequate, as our grandfathers thought the Georgian ideal? Might not the twenty-first century tell us that Insurance and Friendly and Co-operative and Trades-union Societies are very imperfect means of organizing life? Is Jesus to be condemned as an imperfect teacher because He did not put forward the social ideals of the beginning of the twentieth century? Does Mr. Roberts not realize how purely relative to our imperfect society all social theories are? Even more grotesque still is the suggestion that His teaching on marriage is untrue because it is inconsistent with the English divorce laws. Surely we are studying the work of Jesus from a very limited point of view. He did not come to condemn the social arrangements or land tenure or fiscal methods of this or any other age. He came to shew men a more excellent way. As Dr. Drummond says:

‘These external changes are altogether subordinate to the principles from which they spring; and to the man in whose heart these principles are glowing like a heavenly fire, the circumstances of this transient life may seem, by comparison, to be hardly worth considering. The kingdom of God and His righteousness come first; the inferior blessings must surely follow. The late Professor Max Müller, who was familiar with the wisdom of East and West, of ancient and modern times, asks, “Would not the carrying out of one single commandment of Christ, ‘Love one another,’ change the whole aspect of the world, and sweep away prisons and workhouses, and envy and strife, and all the strongholds of the devil?” And again he says, “If we do a thing because we think it is our duty, we generally fail; that is the old law which makes slaves of us. The real spring of our life, and of our work in life, must be love—true, deep love—not love of this or that person, or for this or that reason, but deep human love, devotion of soul to soul, love of God realised where alone it can be, in love of those whom He loves.” Such was the method of Jesus.’¹

As regards the second objection, that possession by evil spirits is presumed to be true, think what would have happened if Jesus had delivered an address to the Scribes

¹ *Jesus or Christ?* p. 199.

and Pharisees, explaining the illness of possessed people on the principles of modern psychology—how ridiculous His audience would have thought Him, how singularly little they would have profited by what He said; how absurd His explanations would have seemed to people in the Middle Ages, and how still more absurd they would seem to people two centuries hence. Here, as elsewhere, there was no other method possible for His work except that which characterizes everything that He said and did. He teaches in the language and thoughts and ideas of the time when He lived. We cannot separate His adoption of the language of possession from the whole of the rest of His teaching, which is drawn from the ideas of His contemporaries, from the apocalypses, from the Messianic expectation. In all things Jesus uses the thoughts and ideas and language of His time. His science, His politics, His theological terms, His philosophy, all are those of His contemporaries. Would anything else have been possible? Clearly not. But the question is whether in these forms of thought which are necessarily those of His time, He gives us the fundamental principles of true religion. He did give us, expressed in the language of those days, and in the symbolism of His time, the most sublime thoughts on human life and destiny and the Gospel which has been the consolation of mankind for nearly nineteen hundred years.

We shall venture to quote a rather remarkable passage which we find in a work recently published by Mr. J. M. Thompson, Dean of Divinity of Magdalen College, Oxford, on 'Jesus according to S. Mark.' Mr. Thompson bases his opinions on an inductive examination of the language of the Gospel. His method has elements of originality, and is, we think, sound. He is bold—perhaps too bold. There is a certain crudity, perhaps, in some of his criticisms. At any rate he does not shirk any difficulties or minimize the human element. Let us hear his conclusion:

'But by degrees I found that my witness was beginning to speak in a rather different strain. Without in any way lessening his emphasis on the complete humanity of Jesus, he was yet representing it in an increasingly unfamiliar way.

He described to me a person who for thirty years was so given to home life that he threw it up in a moment to become a homeless wanderer ; who, without any special education, spoke in such a way that well-to-do men abandoned their trade to become beggars for him, and crowds left their villages to sit at his feet in the desert ; who was able to work at will and " by the light of nature " such changes of body and mind as science is barely beginning to explain ; who soberly believed himself to be the fulfilment of inspired prophecies, and of the age-long expectation of his people ; who deliberately courted a shameful death in order to win for his friends a kingdom not of this world ; and who held that his self-sacrifice would redeem mankind from the power of sin and establish them in a new relationship towards God.

' And so, I argued, it was because the disciples knew Jesus as man that they were ready to worship him as divine. They knew him as a single person : there was no disunity between act and act, thought and thought ; all his faculties and habits of body, mind, and will were one self. They knew that he grew as a whole : bodily form, thought, and spiritual experience alike passed through stages from less to greater maturity. They knew that his humanity was real and complete and local : that the Jewish features and Galilean speech involved the Jewish, Galilean, and Nazarene " point of view " in all its essential elements. Yet they knew that there was more in him than this—a great power of mind and speech, a simplicity of goodness, a close familiarity with the ways of God : and, as their experience of him grew, it was in these things that they found Jesus himself : they followed him less as Messiah than as Master, they revered him less for his public miracles than for his private teaching, they thought less of what he did, and wondered more at what he was. For them, as for himself, the Resurrection intervened between the old life and the new. But his new existence would have been meaningless without the mortal life that preceded it. And the disciples came to worship him as God, not in spite of, but because of their experience of him as man.' ¹

We would suggest that these two interesting quotations give us the right interpretation of the facts. They tell us that the teaching of our Lord and the Gospel narrative are the revelation of what is divine through the medium

¹ *Jesus according to S. Mark* (Methuen. 1909), pp. 275-77.

of the human language of the time. Jesus expresses Himself in the only manner that was possible for Him. The manner of His expression has its limitations, but it is only for those who are wilfully blind that it conceals the divine element which is behind the words. We have glanced at various schools of criticism and interpretation—we have seen how great the limitations of all of them are. They fail because they do not offer any adequate explanation of the facts that are before them; they fail because they definitely exclude the only interpretation which is possible. In proof of this conclusion we can appeal to Christian experience. Religious people for over eighteen hundred years have been reading these books and listening to our Lord's words; throughout all that period they have never had any difficulty in recognizing the divine element. It has appealed to their spiritual natures, and their spiritual natures have responded to the appeal. The temporary form in which the divine thoughts are expressed is there, but they have not been troubled by it. It has needed the labour of scholars to remind them of its existence.

And there is another fact. We have to explain Christian history. We have to account for the fact of Christianity. Let us quote, in the first place, what Professor Gardner says:

'Take them as we will, the facts of early Christianity are of a most surprising, unparalleled character. Such facts as it offers are so unusual that no one save a shallow sciolist would be ready with a cut-and-dried explanation of them. There is the astonishing life of the Master, which has impressed many who were not professed Christians with an admiration almost beyond expression. There is the wonderful change which came over the Apostles after the time of the Crucifixion, transforming them from timid and half-appreciative disciples into bold and effective missionaries of the faith. There is the rapid spread of the new doctrine, in the face of bitter hostility and persecution. There is the remarkable ethical similarity between the teaching of Paul and that of his Master, while at the same time in his hands the Christian teaching undergoes a prodigious development, becoming fit not for an obscure sect of Jews, but for the great cities of the Greek world. These and many other such

historic phenomena seem to me to be only explicable by the supposition that a mighty spiritual power of a new kind and of greatly superior force was dawning on the world, a power not easily to be accounted for, yet in all things to be taken into account.¹

And it is not only the facts at the very beginning of Christianity that we have to explain: it is everything that has happened since. One quite definite fact is that the life of Christ has completely transformed human history. It is an effort of the imagination too great for us to conceive, to think what would have happened if Christ had not lived—to think what the world would be now if He had not taught. Here again we have a stupendous fact, a stupendous force, to account for. And the belief that Jesus was the Son of God, revealing the Father to mankind in the language of the time when He taught, living and dying for mankind, is a true and adequate cause for what has happened since. Has anyone yet suggested any other cause which is adequate?

There are two lines of investigation which are common, but to which we have omitted to make any reference. The one is the critical speculation on the Messianic consciousness of Jesus; the other is the theological speculation on the doctrine of the Kenosis. To us they both seem to be alike on wrong lines. We have preferred throughout to look at the facts, to base upon those facts a theory which will account for them, and not to elaborate either psychological or theological speculations. How are we to tell how Jesus thought? When He concealed His Messiahship or kept it in the background, was it because of His economy, His method of teaching, or was it because His Messianic consciousness only developed gradually? How can we ever answer such a question? The answer depends entirely on *a priori* considerations. What we can draw attention to is the signs of development in the preaching. Again, what possible means have we of speculating in what way God would reveal Himself? Do we know enough to be able to say that it is consistent or inconsistent with the

¹ *Jesus or Christ?* pp. 55-56.

divine nature to use language which is limited—to adapt Himself not only to the imperfection, but to the ignorance of His hearers—resolutely to refuse to reveal anything but what bears on religion and the moral life? We have no means of answering. How can we decide between the doctrine of the Cryptists and the doctrine of the Kenotists? Such speculation is entirely unsubstantial. It is altogether in the air. We know the facts. We know that Jesus was a man of the times when He lived. We know that He claimed to reveal and did reveal a true knowledge of God. That is surely enough for us. The Church tells us that He was truly God and truly man. Do we want anything more?

There are many more thoughts which have arisen in our mind as we read the various books which we have placed at the head of this article. We have enough given us for many volumes rather than for a single article. We have only tried in these pages to bring before our readers some of the salient features of modern criticism. The impression that is ultimately left upon us is that while the whole trend of modern investigation has been to enable us to know something more of Jesus as man, while it has enabled us to see the times in which He lived and the forces with which He was surrounded, while it has explained the sources from which His language and ideas came, while it has explained why the symbolism that He used—and all high religion must be expressed in symbolic language—was what it was, it has explained only a very little. It has not explained the Personality which could sum up in Himself all those various lines of thought, and through them express the religious ideals which have been the principle of a transformed world. It has not explained the Personality of Jesus. It has made us realize more fully than ever, perhaps, was realized before, that our Lord was completely man. It has made it still more necessary for us to look upon Him as truly God because in and through the forms of His earthly life He has given divine life to man. The Jesus of the Gospels is the Christ of St. Paul, and the Jesus Christ, truly God and truly man, of the Christian Church.

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM.

ART. II.—THE DATE OF DEUTERONOMY.

1. *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua.* Von Dr. A. DILLMANN, Ord. Professor der Theologie in Berlin. 'Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch.' (Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1886.)
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3. *Einleitung in den Hexateuch.* Von Dr. H. HOLZINGER, Repetent am Ev.-Theol. Seminar in Tübingen. (Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr. 1893.)
4. *The Date of Deuteronomy.* By R. H. KENNETT, B.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge and Canon of Ely. *Journal of Theological Studies.* Vol. VII. July 1906. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1906.)
5. *The History of the Hebrews.* By R. KITTEL, Professor in the University of Breslau. Translated by H. W. HOGG and E. B. SPEIRS. 'Theological Translation Library.' Vol. VI. (London: Williams and Norgate. 1896.)
6. *Das Deuteronomium und der Deuteronomiker.* Von P. KLEINERT. (Leipzig. 1872.)
7. *The Hexateuch.* By A. KUENEN, Professor of Theology at Leiden. Translated by P. H. WICKSTEED, M.A. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1886.)
8. *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Altes Testaments.* By A. NÖLDEKE. (Kiel. 1869.)
9. *Studien.* In the *Theologisch Tijdschrift* for 1879, 1880, and 1881. By J. J. P. VALETON. (Leiden: S. C. von Doesburgh.)
10. *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Altes Testaments.* Von J. WELLHAUSEN. (Berlin: G. Reimer. 1899.)
11. *Les Sources du Pentateuque.* Par AL. WESTPHAL. (London: Williams and Norgate. 1892.)

ALTHOUGH the criticism of the Pentateuch did not actually begin with the examination of the Book of Deuteronomy, it has so long hinged upon it that it is rather surprising to find that critics have not yet come to any definite conclusions. Neither the date nor the extent of the original writing can be regarded as at all certain. At one time, indeed, it seemed that the former point might be regarded as practically settled. In spite of the preference of Nöldeke for an earlier date, most critics were agreed that the book was written either in the reign of Manasseh or in that of Josiah. Still, the fact that scholars were unable to decide between two such dissimilar periods shewed that the evidence was not completely satisfactory, and Professor Kennett has more recently declared that the arguments appear to him insufficient, and that he prefers to assign the book to the period of the Exile. The date must, therefore, be regarded as an open question, to which four different answers are given—some assigning the book to the reign of Manasseh, others to that of Josiah, and others to a period earlier or later than either of these. Still, so much has been written on the subject that it is possible to examine the various theories in the light of our knowledge of the book itself. Most books, if impartially investigated, enable us to determine their date within certain limits, and we should especially expect this to be the case with Deuteronomy. It was written to produce a particular effect on a particular period, and the circumstances of the kingdom of Judah varied so greatly during the latter part of its history that it ought to be possible to discover what that period was. Moreover, the evidence may fairly be expected to be cumulative. We know many details of the history of each of the four periods mentioned above, and all these details should agree, or at least should not be discordant, with the evidence furnished by the book. When we do find such agreement, each additional fact is not only evidence in itself, but also adds to the weight of the preceding correspondence.

Before we begin our investigation it will be well to consider briefly the extent of the book from which indications of date can safely be drawn. All critics are agreed that

chapters xii.-xxvi. formed part of the original work, but the authenticity of i. 1-iv. 44 and of xxvii.-xxxiv. has been, and is still, vehemently disputed. In the case of the earlier section the arguments of Westphal, that chapters i.-iv. must be assigned to a different author, have been accepted by the majority of more recent critics. In the case of the later section very many would claim at least chapter xxviii. for the original work, but no one has yet succeeded in refuting the objections of Kleinert. Even when we come to the central portion, the doubts thrown by Wellhausen on the authenticity of chapters v.-xi. have more recently been accepted by Cornill and Stade. It will, therefore, be safer to draw our conclusions from the undisputed section, chapters xii.-xxvi. In any case the other sections must establish their claim to authenticity by their agreement with the part which is universally accepted. Indeed, it is one of the arguments in favour of the authenticity of chapters v.-xi. that their inclusion or exclusion has no bearing on the questions of the authorship or date of the book. Fortunately the central and undisputed section of Deuteronomy, chapters xii.-xxvi., affords ample material for a complete and detailed investigation of the question.

It may be well to begin with a broad consideration of the *general history*. We find that the worship at high places continued unchecked till the reign of Hezekiah, but that this monarch regarded all such worship as absolutely illegal and put it down with a firm hand. In this the reform of Hezekiah exactly agreed with the legislation of Deuteronomy, which rigorously restricted all worship to the Temple at Jerusalem. The general history, therefore, suggests that we must place the legislation of Deuteronomy before the reign of Hezekiah. It is true that Wellhausen has tried to throw doubt on the reality of Hezekiah's reform, but none of his arguments possess any real force. In fact, nothing can be urged against the reform of Hezekiah which could not with equal justice be urged against that of Josiah.

Professor Kennett looks at the matter from a different point of view. He maintains that, instead of the legislation bringing about the reform, the reform was the cause of the

legislation. In itself this explanation is as possible as the other, but the theory of the Cambridge Professor fails to account satisfactorily for the discovery of the Book of the Law. This book cannot have been Deuteronomy, for, *ex hypothesi*, it was not written till some time after the reform. What book, then, could it have been? Professor Kennett replies that it must have been some book which forbade all sacrifice, such as the writings of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, or Micah. We need not delay to consider whether the works of these prophets contain any such prohibition. It is enough to point out that in this case there would be a total want of correspondence between the legislation and the reform. If the Book of the Law was Deuteronomy, there was complete agreement between the two. But if the Book of the Law forbade all sacrifice, Hezekiah and Josiah disregarded it as completely when they restricted worship to the Temple as if they had continued to offer sacrifice elsewhere.

It would seem, then, that we must place the legislation before the reform; but on the other hand we must not make it much earlier, otherwise we come into conflict with the history, which represents good kings as acting as if no such laws existed. Ahaz, the predecessor of Hezekiah, was admittedly an evil king, and would not be likely to alter his conduct to meet the requirements of Deuteronomy. But Jotham was a monarch of very different character. If we take Deuteronomy earlier than his reign, we must offer some explanation of the fact that he entirely disregarded it. But if we assign the book to the reign of Jotham, the history becomes clear. Down to that time the best monarchs of Judah, including such a reformer as Asa, ignore the law of the one sanctuary. After his reign all God-fearing monarchs observe and endeavour to carry out the new law. It is an additional argument against assigning a much earlier date than the reign of Jotham, that the court of appellate jurisdiction, first established by Jehoshaphat, has become in Deuteronomy a recognized institution.

This conclusion is also supported by the *political situation* reflected in the Book of Deuteronomy. The relations of Judah to *surrounding nations* answer in every respect to

the circumstances of the reign of Jotham, but are totally unlike those which existed in the time of the Exile or in the reigns of Manasseh and Josiah. In the first place there is no mention of *Assyria*. The significance of this fact becomes apparent when we consider the external history. From B.C. 782 to B.C. 746 Assyria was governed by three weak rulers, and steadily declined in power and influence. Under Ašurnirār II., the contemporary of Jotham, she reached her lowest level, and it seemed that her power was a thing of the past. For a Hebrew legislator in this reign, Assyria would possess no significance at all. But in reality her strength was far from being exhausted, and it only needed a vigorous ruler to demonstrate the fact. With the accession of Tiglath Pileser II. in B.C. 745, Assyria rapidly became the dominant power in Western Asia. Accordingly the accession of this monarch must be regarded as one of the great turning-points of Jewish history. Thenceforth Assyria or Babylon always throws her dark shadow across the page. It would be impossible for a book of the size of Deuteronomy to have been written during the Exile, or in the reign of one of the later kings of Judah, and yet to contain no reference to either empire.

Egypt is still a source of influence in the time of the Deuteronomist, but the influence is that of old association, and the connexion is commercial and not political. Under the XXIIIrd and XXIVth dynasties, Egypt was powerless to exercise any influence on the politics of Western Asia. Consequently the attitude of the Deuteronomist is pronouncedly friendly.¹ By the time of Hezekiah Egypt had once more become a great world-power, and henceforth the prophets of God are opposed to it. In the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham, *Edom* formed part of the territory of Judah, and hence cordial relations are inculcated in Deuteronomy: 'Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, for he is thy brother.' This attitude is in marked contrast with the feeling which often prevailed, both earlier (as in the reign of Amaziah) and later (in the concluding period of the monarchy and during the Exile).

¹ Deut. xxiii. 7.

In marked contrast to the tone adopted towards Edom is the attitude of Deuteronomy towards *Moab-Ammon*.¹ The reason for this is that in the reign of Jotham the two nations were actively hostile to Judah. Ammon had been tributary under Uzziah, but rebelled on the accession of a new king. It is not likely that she was long able to maintain the struggle, but meanwhile there was war. Later on the position changed again, and the author of the historical introduction is exceedingly well disposed.² Professor Driver can only assign an antiquarian interest for the attitude of the Deuteronomist, an explanation which in the case of so practical a writer can scarcely be considered adequate. Professor Kennett, who assigns the book to the Exile, has no difficulty in pointing out that the part taken by Moab-Ammon at the fall of Jerusalem would explain the hostile attitude of Deuteronomy, but is driven to conjecture to account for the partiality shewn to Edom.³

The feeling manifested towards *Amalek* is even fiercer than that displayed to Moab-Ammon: 'Thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.' To understand this denunciation we must remember that Amalek was an Arab tribe, and that both Uzziah and Jotham paid especial attention to agriculture. In their reigns the fertile, flourishing land of Judah would be a constant temptation to the nomad tribes of the desert. Both Isaiah⁴ and Hosea⁵ tell us that fenced cities and towers were multiplied at this time; and when Chronicles⁶ adds that these towers were built in the Desert of Judah, it becomes obvious that they were intended to keep the Arab tribes in check. Indeed, Chronicles tells us in so many words that God helped Uzziah

¹ Deut. xxiii. 3.

² *Ibid.* ii. 9.

³ Contrast Ps. cxxxvii. 7.

⁴ Is. ii. 15. In assigning the second chapter of Isaiah to the reign of Jotham we follow what Kuenen rightly calls the 'zoo goed als algemeen aangenomen' chronology. For those who regard this chapter as the work of a post-Exilic imitator of Isaiah, the argument based upon it will have no weight.

⁵ Hos. viii. 14. This reference, of course, depends on the genuineness of the passage.

⁶ 2 Chron. xxvi. 10; xxvii. 4.

against the Arabians.¹ Such forays would produce a feeling of insecurity and exasperation among the inhabitants of the cultivated land, and fully account for the language of Deuteronomy. Here again the ordinary explanation—that the injunction is a mere meaningless repetition of the document known as JE—is utterly inadequate; for Deuteronomy not only gives the command, but emphasizes it. ‘Thou shalt not forget it.’ The conduct of the nomads in the time of Jotham was a repetition of their behaviour in days of old.

The command to exterminate the *original inhabitants* of the land is usually represented as merely ideal, and in no way due to the pressing needs of the time. No doubt this would have been the case in the reign of Manasseh or Josiah. Such an explanation, however, utterly fails to account for the language of the Deuteronomist. It is no vague, general allusion made in passing, but an urgent, impassioned command, repeated again and again, and enforced with all the weight of divine authority. The legislator is not dreaming of ideals but is confronting an imminent danger, and the history of the reign of Jotham shews us how real that danger was. Uzziah had conquered the Philistines and built towns in their territory.² In such towns Hebrews and Philistines probably lived side by side, and in any case the Judæan inhabitants were especially exposed to foreign influence. The command to destroy all Canaanite cities was due to the fact that these cities actually existed and needed to be destroyed. In accordance with this the legislator carefully considers the case where apostasy from God is the offence not of isolated individuals, but of entire cities.³ It is the duty of the judges to see that such a state of things does not occur. It was as imperative for the Deuteronomist in the reign of Jotham as for Nehemiah in the period after the Return to lay down the law that there should be no inter-marriage with the inhabitants of the land. The reason given by the writer of Deuteronomy, that such intimate association would lead the Israelites into idolatry, belongs to the next section—the

¹ 2 Chron. xxvi. 7.

² *Ibid.* xxvi. 6.

³ Deut. xiii. 15.

internal condition of the country. Here it is only necessary to point out that in mentioning idolatry the legislator is not guarding against a possible danger, but is referring to an actual fact. He is not beating the air but attacking existing sins.

In short, the attitude of Deuteronomy towards the surrounding nations exactly suits the reign of Jotham, but is most unsuitable for any later period. Egypt and Assyria are both weak, and the necessity for a world-policy does not exist. The interests of the writer are exclusively with the petty tribes, with whom alone ¹ Judah is immediately concerned, and in each case his attitude reflects the age in which he lived. The importance of this becomes apparent when we remember that the position was never precisely the same for any two epochs. It is in accordance with the circumstances of the age in which Deuteronomy was written that war is regarded as aggressive and successful when captives are made and booty is taken,² not as the defence of hearth and home against overwhelming odds. It might be possible, or even profitable, to dispense with the services of all who had other interests,³ when it was the question of an expedition against a neighbouring tribe in the reign of Jotham. Such directions would have been utterly impossible later, when the struggle was one of life or death. Wellhausen, indeed, feels these difficulties so keenly that he is driven to the obvious expedient of declaring the whole section an interpolation. It is quite in accordance with this that the writer of Deuteronomy, like Isaiah³ and unlike later prophets, has no idea that Judah would ever go into captivity. Kittel points out that only three passages (vi. 15, viii. 19 *sq.*, xi. 28) in chapters v.-xxvi. contain any warning at all. It will be noticed that all three occur in the section the authenticity of which has been disputed; but in any case the general and indefinite terms in which the warning is conveyed point to an early date.

¹ Egypt is only an apparent exception, for the relation between her and Judah is commercial and not political.

² Deut. xx. 14; xxi. 10 *sq.*

³ *Ibid.* xx. 5-8.

When we turn from the external relations to the *internal condition* of the country, we find the same close correspondence between the circumstances of the reign of Jotham and the state of things depicted in Deuteronomy.

In this section our materials for investigation are fortunately abundant ; for the Deuteronomist, like his contemporaries Amos and Hosea, and unlike later prophets, was set free by the fortunate circumstances of his time from the necessity of occupying himself with foreign politics, and was able to devote his attention exclusively to religion and righteous dealing. In religion the great sin of the period of Jotham was *idolatry*. It is the offence most severely censured by Isaiah, the transgression to which he devotes most attention in his description of the state of Judah at this time. ' Their land ' also is full of idols ; they worship the work of their own hands, that which their own fingers have made. And the mean man boweth down, and the great man humbleth himself : therefore forgive them not.' The reform to which he eagerly looks forward is the disappearance of graven images : ' The idols ² shall utterly pass away. . . . In that day a man shall cast away his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and to the bats.' The great sin which the writer of Deuteronomy attacks is the same sin of idolatry. He puts it in the forefront of his legislation : ' Ye shall utterly destroy ³ all the places wherein the nations whom ye shall possess served their gods . . . and ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and burn their Asherim with fire ; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods ; and ye shall destroy their name out of that place.' It is to this end that his legislation is directed throughout—in the rules for the direction of the king, in the appointment of judges, in the test of a prophet, in the conditions of service for a priest, in the numerous rules and regulations laid down for the people as a whole. Like Isaiah, he hoped that the reform would be effected by the voluntary return of the nation to Jehōvah. Unfortunately, as is often the case, the actual manner in which the reform

¹ Is. ii. 8-9.

² *Ibid.* ii. 18, 20.

³ Deut. xii. 2.

was carried out, first by Hezekiah and then by Josiah, was different from his anticipations. But for that very reason both reforms lacked the element of permanence. What rendered the religious position in the reign of Jotham unique in the history of Judah was the fact that this idolatry prevailed under the rule of one of the ablest and most successful of her kings. The Chronicler gives a glowing description of the prosperity of this period, and his statements—as we shall see—are amply borne out both by the Deuteronomist and by Isaiah.

Moreover, not only is the sin attacked characteristic of this period, but the method adopted by the Deuteronomist to bring about a better state of things is one which would scarcely have occurred *independently* to any reformer after the reign of Jotham. The legislator is quite hopeless of any reform of the high places. In his opinion they are contaminated by old associations beyond any possibility of fundamental improvement. In this extremity he considers that the sole hope of the nation depends on the Temple at Jerusalem. That was the only spot in the country where the worship of Jehovah had always been kept free from heathen pollutions. Hitherto the worst of Judæan kings had refrained from laying impious hands on the Temple. Even Athaliah, daughter of Jezebel though she was, had contented herself with building a separate house of Baal. Accordingly the legislator is convinced that, if worship can be restricted to the Temple, idolatry will *ipso facto* disappear. A reformer in the reign of Josiah could have cherished no such illusions, for the distinction between the central sanctuary and the local shrines had entirely disappeared. Idolatrous worship either prevailed in all or was observed in none. In the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah idolatry was everywhere put down: in the reigns of evil kings it was everywhere set up. Ezekiel draws no distinction between the worship at the Temple and that carried on elsewhere. Jeremiah, however obedient he may be to the legislation of Deuteronomy, has no vision of the Temple worship correcting all evils. The prophetess Huldah sees clearly that restrictions, which might have saved the nation

in the reign of Jotham, can avail for good no longer. The opportunity had been lost and the time was past.

One great aim of the religious teaching of Deuteronomy is the removal of the *high places*, and it might be supposed that the writer's hostility to local shrines is so pronounced that there can be no difference between his position and that adopted in the reform of Josiah. This, however, is not the case. In the reign of Jotham the high places had the sanction of long established usage, which in the East has all the force of law. Accordingly the legislator makes ample provision for the priests of the high places, if they are willing to leave their local shrines and serve at the central sanctuary.¹ He sees that obedience must entail a certain amount of hardship, that they must leave their own cities, sell their estates, and enter the class of the sojourner. Accordingly he enacts that they are to be equal in all respects to the Temple priests, and solemnly enjoins on the people the care for their maintenance. By the reign of Josiah the position was changed. It was felt that the priests who had gone back to the local sanctuaries after Hezekiah had put them down, were no longer entitled to the advantages offered to induce them to accept the Deuteronomic legislation. Consequently in this instance the directions of the code were deliberately disregarded. Provision was made for their bodily wants during the remainder of their lives, but they were to live as private persons, and were forbidden to execute any priestly function.²

It is sometimes a result of prosperity and success that they lead to *pride, self-sufficiency, and forgetfulness of God*. In the reign of Jotham these characteristics were only too plainly manifested and were vehemently attacked by the prophet Isaiah. 'The lofty looks of man shall be brought low, and the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down, and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day. For there shall be a day of the Lord of Hosts upon all that is proud and haughty, and upon all that is lifted up; and it shall be brought low.'³ It was only to be expected that this

¹ Deut. xvlii. 6-8.

² 2 Kings xxlii. 8, 9.

³ Is. ii. 11, 12, 17, 22.

tendency of his countrymen would be too evident to escape the notice of the writer of Deuteronomy, and very gravely he warns them against it. Over and over again in his legislation we find the warning that the prosperity which they were enjoying must not lead to pride and forgetfulness of God. 'It shall be,¹ when the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into the land which He swore unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give thee great and goodly cities, which thou buildedst not ; and houses full of all good things, which thou filledst not ; and wells digged which thou diggedst not ; vineyards and olive trees, which thou plantedst not ; when thou shalt have eaten and be full ; then beware lest thou forget the Lord.' Again we read in the eighth chapter : ' Lest when thou hast eaten and art full, and hast built goodly houses and dwelt therein ; and when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied ; then thine heart be lifted up.'²

When we turn from the religious to the *moral* teaching of Deuteronomy we find the same close correspondence with the position of affairs in the reign of Jotham. The rules laid down for the guidance of the *king* have long been a difficulty with many critics. Professor Driver explains them as due to recollections of the reign of Solomon, but the explanation cannot be considered very probable. Of all men the writer of Deuteronomy is the least likely to direct his legislation with a view to the difficulties and temptations of the distant past. Moreover, at a later date the character and conduct of Manasseh would have furnished ample material for the regulations and warnings given to the monarch. It is scarcely possible to imagine that the legislator would disregard Manasseh and go back to Solomon. Professor Kennett hazards the conjecture that the king referred to by the Deuteronomist was really some governor appointed by the Persian Government. Wellhausen is led by these difficulties to regard the section as an interpolation, but Kuenen points out that it is in its proper place, and affords no legitimate ground for suspicion. If,

¹ Deut. vi. 10-12.

² *Ibid.* viii. 12-14.

however, we date the book in the reign of Jotham, our difficulties disappear, and we find, as we should expect, that the legislator is guarding¹ against real, not imaginary dangers. The warnings addressed to the king are five in number—against (a) foreign influence, (b) multiplication of horses, (c) multiplication of silver and gold, (d) haughtiness and pride, (e) multiplication of wives. Of these five, the first four are actually mentioned in the chapter of Isaiah¹ which treats of the reign of Jotham. There is, therefore, no difficulty in the omission of the fifth, particularly as this is a personal detail which only affected the king, and throughout the chapter there is no reference to the monarch. Moreover, it is quite in accordance with Eastern ideas that the wealth and prosperity of Jotham should lead to an increase of his harem. It is significant in this connexion that Isaiah brings the charge against his countrymen that they are ‘filled with customs from the East.’²

We have already seen (a) how prevalent foreign influence was in the reign of Jotham, and how necessary it was to warn the monarch against yielding to it. And further in regard to (b), the multiplication of horses is one of the characteristics of the reign, strikingly brought out by Isaiah³: ‘Their land also is full of horses, neither is there any end of their chariots.’ Exactly similar is the prophet’s assertion with regard to (c), the abundance of silver and gold. ‘Their land⁴ also is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures.’ He concludes his exhortation by an emphatic warning against (d), the haughtiness⁵ and pride which prosperity had produced. In short, the directions given to the king in Deuteronomy are precisely those which a wise and practical legislator would give in the reign of Jotham.

The directions given with regard to *prophets* afford very little indication of date. The possibility of the existence of prophets, consciously or unconsciously false, must have been a danger at every period of Jewish history, and we have an express mention of them as early as the reign of

¹ Is. ii.² *Ibid.* ii. 6.³ *Ibid.* ii. 7.⁴ *Ibid.*⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 11, 17, 22.

Jehoshaphat. One point of importance, however, emerges. As the temptation of the king at this period was pride and self-sufficiency, so the temptation of the prophet was the acceptance of the prevailing idolatry.¹ The position assigned in Deuteronomy to the *priests* and *Levites* is in favour of as early a date as is consistent with other features of the book. On this point the author has not advanced beyond the Elohist. Both writers regard Levi as pre-eminently the priestly tribe, but neither considers a Levite to be *ipso facto* a priest, though he may become one. 'If a Levite² come from any of thy gates out of all Israel . . . and come . . . unto the place which the Lord shall choose; then he shall minister in the name of the Lord his God, as all his brethren the Levites do, which stand there before the Lord.' For the writer of Deuteronomy the only distinction between one Levite and another is that of actual service: he has no idea of a favoured class or a special family. But the Levites declined the offer of the legislator: they preferred to remain at their local sanctuaries; they refused to become priests in the only sense in which they could be recognized as such. Hence the altered attitude of Josiah, Ezekiel, and the priestly writer (P). The Deuteronomist still occupies the position of earlier writers, but between him and the three just mentioned came the reform of Hezekiah.

As regards the position of the people as a whole all accounts agree that it was one of great *wealth* and *prosperity*. Isaiah³ tells us that the land was full of silver and gold, and that there was no end of their treasures. Others⁴ describe the new towns which sprang up, the flourishing agriculture, and the growing commerce. Equally clearly does Deuteronomy v.-xxvi. from beginning to end shew that it was written in a period of peace and prosperity.

No small part of the prosperity of the nation under the rule of Uzziah-Jotham was due to the attention paid to *agriculture*. Indeed, agriculture was one of the predilections of the successful and enterprising Uzziah. 'He loved

¹ Deut. xiii. 1, 2; xviii. 20.

² *Ibid.* xviii. 6, 7.

³ Is. ii. 7.

⁴ 2 Kings xiv. 22; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10, xxvii. 4-6.

husbandry.¹ He digged many wells, for he had much cattle, both in the low country and in the plains ; husbandmen also and vinedressers in the mountains and in Carmel.' In addition to the inclination of the monarch, the incorporation of the fertile lowland plain of Philistia in the territory of Judah and its assignment to Hebrew colonists would make the subject of agriculture more than ordinarily engrossing. Deuteronomy adopts the same standpoint. The interests of the author are primarily agricultural ; the blessings promised are connected with the fruitful field ; the threats denounced are not deportation but failure of fertility. The wealth and prosperity of the nation in the time of Uzziah-Jotham formed a startling contrast to the troubles and humiliations of the reign of the preceding king, Amaziah. The circumstances of Judah in the time of Jotham were in many aspects similar to those of Israel in the time of Jeroboam II ; and the Southern kingdom must have been at least threatened by ' the temptations of rapid wealth,' which Amos denounced so vehemently in the Northern. Accordingly, it is one of the characteristics of the Deuteronomist that he insists so strongly on the brotherhood of man ; on the claims of the poor, the oppressed, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow. Indeed, the results of the wealth and prosperity of Judah furnished him with the two great motives of his work—the sovereignty of Jehovah and the brotherhood of man.

There were grave evils in the reign of Jotham which needed correction ; but, in spite of everything, the writer of Deuteronomy has no doubt of the future of his country. No words, indeed, could be more confident than those with which he concludes : ' The Lord hath avouched thee this day to be His peculiar people, as He hath promised thee . . . and to make thee high above all nations which He hath made, in praise, and in name, and in honour ; and that thou mayest be an holy people unto the Lord, thy God, as He hath spoken.'² Far different were the expectations of the inspired prophetess in the time of Josiah. Between her and the writer of Deuteronomy lay one of

¹ 2 Chron. xxvi. 10.

² Deut. xxvi. 18-19.

the dividing lines in the religious history of Judah—the persecution of Manasseh.

These are the main reasons for placing Deuteronomy in the reign of Jotham. The strength of the argument consists in the fact that everything points in the same direction, and that every section of the book can be easily understood if it is assigned to this reign. If, however, we select another date, the position is altogether changed. Indeed, the principal reason for ascribing the book to the reign of Manasseh rather than to that of Josiah is the difficulty of supposing that it was written in the latter reign: the main argument for preferring the time of Josiah is the difficulty of assigning it to that of his predecessor.

It now becomes necessary to consider the arguments urged in favour of a later date, and here it will be convenient to follow the arrangement adopted by Dr. Driver. In the first place it is considered that the differences between the Code in Exodus xxi.—xxiii. and that in Deuteronomy tend to shew that they were separated by a considerable interval. A convenient division of the Code in Exodus is that of Wellhausen into (a) the place of worship, (b) sacrifice, (c) sacred feasts, (d) priests and Levites. It is in respect of (a) the place of worship that we find the only difference between the Deuteronomist and earlier legislators. Even here there are three points to be considered. First, the writer's main object is not the destruction of the high places as irregular but as contaminated with Canaanitish worship. He emphasizes this point at the beginning of his laws and has it in his mind throughout. In this attitude he occupies the early standpoint,¹ and in the reign of Jotham his appreciation of the danger would be quickened by the tendencies of the time. Secondly, Valetton points out that Exodus xx. 24 might be understood, as the Deuteronomist understands it, as not permitting worship everywhere, but as restricting it to the place which Jehovah should choose. Thirdly, the attitude of Deuteronomy towards the high places is identical with that of Amos-Hosea, and is, therefore, no evidence of a later date. In the case of (b),

¹ Ex. xxxiv. 13.

Wellhausen himself acknowledges that 'with regard to sacrifices D. still occupies the position of JE.' With regard to (c) the sacred feasts, the Deuteronomist recognizes the same cycle as JE. When he wrote, no additional feasts had been introduced. We have already seen that (d) the position of the priests and Levites in Deuteronomy is identical with that in the older literature and altogether different from their position in P. In short, the considerations in this section are in favour of approximating the date of the Deuteronomist to that of J. and E., and of separating him from P. by the longest possible interval.¹

Secondly, it is urged that the forms of idolatry alluded to, especially the worship of the host of heaven, point to a late date. This objection has been brought forward under two forms. Kittel asserts that the Book of Kings expressly states that this worship was introduced by Manasseh. The verse referred to is 2 Kings xxi. 3: 'He built up again the high places, which Hezekiah his father had destroyed; and he reared up altars for Baal and made an Asherah, as did Ahab king of Israel; and worshipped all the host of heaven.' Kittel's argument cannot, however, be considered strong, for the worship of the host of heaven is mentioned among the sins of Manasseh in exactly the same way as his service of Baal, and no one asserts that Manasseh was the first to introduce Baal worship.

The theory of Dr. Driver directly contradicts that of Kittel. The Oxford Professor suggests that this worship is connected in the historical books with the reign of Ahaz. Even if this were so, Jotham was the king immediately preceding, and the beginning of the practice might well be placed in his reign, although it did not become prevalent till the reign of his successor. In reality, however, the original text of the Book of Kings contained no reference to Ahaz in this connexion. The verse in question is 2 Kings xxiii. 12: 'The altars that were on the top of the upper

¹ The arguments in favour of assigning J. to the latter part of the reign of Solomon are given in the present writer's commentary on Gen. ii. 4—iii. 25, pp. 22—34. A number of considerations shew that E. wrote in the reign of Omri.

chamber of Ahaz, which the kings of Judah had made.' Here the words 'the upper chamber of Ahaz' are undoubtedly the insertion of a later scribe, as is shewn by the fact that the preceding word Hăggâg has (a) the absolute form, (b) the article. Originally the verse ran: 'The altars on the roof which the kings of Judah had made'; and the worship of the host of heaven was brought as a general charge against the kings of Judah.¹ Earlier in the book² it had equally been made a general charge against the kings of Israel. It seems never to have become a popular superstition, and so is only incidentally alluded to in the Book of Kings, just as it is only incidentally referred to in Deuteronomy. In neither case does the mention afford any indication of date.

Thirdly, it is stated that 'the prophetic teaching of Deuteronomy and the dominant theological ideas . . . presuppose a relatively advanced stage of theological reflexion and approximate to what is found in Jeremiah and Ezekiel.' This statement is no doubt correct, but it would be hazardous to base on it any argument as to date; for the resemblances between Deuteronomy and the two prophets mentioned above are balanced by corresponding differences, and there is an even greater amount of resemblance between Deuteronomy and Amos and Hosea.³

And lastly, it was strongly urged in former days that the Book of Deuteronomy must have been written between the time of Isaiah and that of Jeremiah, because of the traces of the author's influence on the later prophet and the absence of any sign of such influence on the earlier. Recently, however, Professor Kennett has carefully examined this argument and has shewn that it cannot be maintained.

Our review of the evidence bearing on the date of Deuteronomy, if it has done nothing else, has at least shewn how ample is the material we possess on which to base our

¹ There is no ground for the often repeated assertion that this superstition could only have been derived from Assyria or Babylon. Even if this were so, it would be no indication of date.

² 2 Kings xvii. 16.

³ The resemblance between D. and Hosea is especially marked.

decision. In the opinion of the present writer our information enables us to go further, and to assign the book, with as much certainty as internal evidence permits, to the reign of Jotham.

H. H. B. AYLES.

ART III.—THE REUNION PROBLEM : ANOTHER SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL VIEW

1. *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland.* By the Rev. ROBERT WODROW. (Glasgow : Blackie, Fullerton and Co. 1830.)
2. *The Whole Works of Robert Leighton.* By the Rev. J. N. PEARSON. (London : John Duncan. 1828.)
3. *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland.* By the Very Rev. JOHN LEE. (Edinburgh : Blackwood and Sons. 1860.)
4. *The Presbyterian Church.* By the Rev. ALEXANDER WRIGHT. (Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier. 1895.)
5. *Authorised Standards of the Free Church of Scotland.* (Edinburgh : Johnstone and Hunter. 1851.)
6. *The Episcopate of Charles Wordsworth.* By the BISHOP OF SALISBURY. (London : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1899.)
7. Bishop Sage's Works. *Presbytery Examined.* (Edinburgh : for the Spottiswoode Society. 1844.)
8. Volume of *Pamphlets* in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, marked in Catalogue No. 509 in 1st series of Pamphlets.
9. *History of the Episcopal Church.* By J. P. LAWSON. (Edinburgh : Gallie and Bayley. 1843.)
10. *Rudiments of Theology.* By J. P. NORRIS. (London : Rivingtons. 1878.)
11. *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.* By JOHN SKINNER. (London : T. Evans. 1788.)
12. *Essays on Christian Union.* By Various Authors. (London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1845.)

113. *The Unity of the Church.* Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII, Authorized Translation. (London: Catholic Truth Society. 1896.)
114. *The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878, and 1888.* With the Official Reports and Resolutions, together with the Sermons preached at the Conferences. A New and Revised Edition, with Index. Edited by the Right Reverend RANDALL T. DAVIDSON, D.D., Bishop of Winchester. (London: S.P.C.K. 1896.)
115. *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion.* Holden at Lambeth Palace, July 27 to August 5, 1908. *Encyclical Letter from the Bishops, with the Resolutions and Reports.* No. XI. Report of the Committee appointed to consider and report upon the Subject of Reunion and Intercommunion—(b) *Non-Episcopal Churches.* (London: S.P.C.K. 1908.)

[In order to carry out the advice of the Lambeth Conference that every effort should be made to further the cause of Reunion, especially with the Presbyterian Churches, by conference and study, it is proposed in a series of articles to discuss the problem of Presbyterianism and Reunion from various points of view.¹ The articles will in each case be signed, and the writers alone will be responsible for the views put forward.—ED. C.Q.R.]

PEOPLE who think in small quantities can hardly expect to accomplish great results—except occasionally by a kind of accident. This is as true in ecclesiastical affairs as it is in the ordinary affairs of life, or in the greater affairs of State; and it is therefore desirable that we should approach the consideration of ecclesiastical differences with a very broad and ambitious outlook—nothing less, indeed, than the ambition of a complete union of the various divisions of Christianity in our own country, to lead on in time to such

¹ Reference may be made to the articles on 'Presbyterianism and Reunion' (C.Q.R. January 1909); 'The Problem of Reunion in Scotland,' by the Rev. J. Cooper, D.D. (C.Q.R. April 1909); and 'The Reunion Problem: a Scottish Episcopal View,' by the Very Rev. T. I. Ball, LL.D. (C.Q.R. July 1909).

union and extension in our possessions beyond the seas as would constitute something worthy of the name of 'An Imperial Church.'

We have travelled far beyond the stage of national life in which religion is considered primarily as an implement for the furtherance of State policy. Yet we need not conceal from ourselves that there never has been a more powerful means of consolidating a nationality than is afforded by community of religion. And in these days of freedom, when 'Imperial prosperity' includes the intellectual, the moral, and the spiritual, as well as the material, it cannot be doubted that such a Church, welded together by the intelligent and free act of the elements which are at present separated from each other, would exert a magnificent Imperial influence in every phase of life and work. Of course, even the idea of an 'Imperial' Church is imperfect. We know that there ought to be but one Church throughout the world. An Imperial Church would be a step in this direction. It is quite easy to disparage such a view as being a dream, a mere ideal. But ideals lead to efforts, and efforts lead to success. The ideal may be realized in the distant future: the present generation may do something to lessen the distance.

It is unfortunate that from this ideal the Roman Church must for the present be definitely excluded. It has excluded itself by a most deliberate act. The Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII on 'The Unity of the Church,' delivered to the world on June 29, 1896, made this perfectly plain. In Article 13 of the authorized English translation it is stated that 'the Pontiffs who succeed Peter in the Roman Episcopate receive the supreme power in the Church *jure divino*.' Article 15 makes the Papal position very clear in the following words :

'From this it must be clearly understood that bishops are deprived of the right and power of ruling, if they deliberately secede from Peter and his successors ; because, by this secession, they are separated from the *fold*, whose leader is the Chief Pastor ; they are exiled from the *Kingdom*, the keys of which were given by Christ to Peter alone.'

There is nothing offered here but the acceptance of complete submission. Now, the Anglican attitude is in the most absolute contrast with this. It is the attitude of reasoning, argument, and possible compromise. Or, perhaps it is more accurately expressed in the first article of this series in the statement that it is comprehension rather than compromise, unity rather than uniformity, that are sought. But there is a compromise of attitude even in that. For a Church which adopts this attitude, there is not present sufficient scope among the bodies which profess what is generally called 'the reformed Faith.' The willingness of the Anglican Church to compromise on matters which admit of compromise is probably not less, but even greater, at the present time than in former periods.

Of the various articles which have recently been written on the subject of reunion, two have appeared in *The Nineteenth Century and After*. One, from the pen of Dr. Archibald Fleming of St. Columba's, Pont Street, is a defence of Presbyterian Orders.¹ The other, by Canon Hensley Henson,² refers attempts at union to two principles, which he describes as respectively the 'National' and the 'Catholic' views, he himself preferring the 'National' view. At the same time he attributes the present Anglican view of Church government to the Oxford Movement. But this is rather to ignore the views of the Elizabethan and Caroline divines, and to appeal for a definition of the 'National' principle to the views of what is often called the 'Georgian' period in Church history. It is possible to embody both the national and the catholic principles in an effort to arrive at a compromise which shall secure unity. This seems to be the attitude of the recent Lambeth Conference of bishops, which it is allowable to believe has advanced the object of Christian Unity beyond the stage at which the famous deliverance of the Conference of 1888 left it.

While the whole Anglican Church is interested in the question of reunion, there is no branch of that Church

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, March 1909.

² *Ibid.* May 1909.

which is more vitally interested than that which is officially known as the 'Episcopal Church in Scotland.' We Episcopalians do not agree with Canon Hensley Henson's opinion that 'On the principle of the English Reformation, the Scottish Episcopalians ought to conform to the National Church of Scotland.' If we accepted his view of what that principle was, we should be able to maintain that according to it we are still, on an appeal to history, *the* Church of Scotland. Scottish ecclesiastical distinctions are proverbially puzzling to the southern mind. The writer remembers an occasion when he preached in a church in England, and was staggered by the vicar remarking, after he had explained the disestablished position of his own Church: 'Ah, now I can understand what I never *could* understand before, what the "Free Church" of Scotland is.' And it is reported that on a recent occasion, when the Bishop of Glasgow was announced to preach in an English town, a local newspaper wrote: 'Now we shall hear what these Scotch Presbyterians have to say for themselves.' In view of this the writer hastens to explain that he does not advance a claim that the Episcopal Church, embracing only about three out of every hundred people in Scotland, is *the* national Church.

The Church in Scotland had many ups and downs from the Reformation onward, passing through periods which may be roughly described as non-episcopal, then episcopal, next presbyterian, and then episcopal again. This brings us up to the year 1689, and according to Canon Hensley Henson's principle of the Anglican Reformation, the Presbyterians of that day ought to have been content to accept the Church established by law, and to have conformed to episcopacy. But they had been vigorous dissenters, and took advantage of the situation existing in politics at that time to such purpose that Episcopacy was disestablished and Presbyterianism put in its place. Episcopacy survived, however, as a Church, although it passed through persecutions which were calculated to destroy it utterly. It is vigorous to-day, and has led the way in various directions, notably being the first religious

body to introduce the social work of 'labour homes' in Scotland. It is often unfairly called an 'exotic' in Scotland, but it is as fully and truly national as any of the Presbyterian Churches.

It has frankly accepted its position as a legally 'dissenting' body, and is therefore a curious example of a body which accepts the principle of the State establishment of religion, and at the same time shews that a Church can exist and be a powerful religious force without State aid. It has the legal position of the Nonconformist bodies of England, with the ecclesiastical atmosphere of the Church of England. It differs in organization from the Established Church of Scotland, yet there is little, if anything, in doctrine to divide them; and it is in the same legal position as two Presbyterian Churches—the 'United Free' and the 'Free'—which do not differ from the Established Church in government or doctrine. It has always hoped for Church union in Scotland, but could not attain it while Presbyterianism declared episcopal government to be unscriptural and sinful.

When Bishop Sage, in the year 1695, was writing the last pages of his 'Presbytery Examined,' he penned these words: 'In a special manner I wish our Presbyterian brethren and we may yet be so much honoured and blessed of God, that in the sincerity of brotherly kindness we may be all united in one holy Communion.' The words were written when Presbyterianism had been established but lately, and when religious animosities were at a white heat. There were only two religious camps in Scotland at the time. More than two hundred years have elapsed, and instead of the pious wish having been realized, it yet remains to advocate the cause.

It need not be supposed that people have been blind to the disadvantages and evils of disunion. The ideal of unity seems to have been always before men's minds. Even in 1845, two years after the great Presbyterian upheaval which is known as the 'Disruption,' eight leading ministers produced a volume entitled 'Essays on Christian Union,' these eight including the great Scotsmen, Dr.

Chalmers and Dr. Candlish, and a leading English Congregationalist, the Rev. John Angel James. Modern Presbyterianism realizes that Episcopacy has exerted a great influence on the religious life of the country. Its influence has stimulated its rivals to improvements in their services. It has modified the severity of the old-time Calvinism ; and the rising generation, instead of going over to the Episcopal Church for the satisfaction of religious feelings which were formerly condemned by the leaders of Presbyterianism, finds its worship approximating more and more to the outward features of the Anglican form. At the same time, could the protagonists of Bishop Sage's day revisit the scenes of their dialectic strife, they would on the one side be gratified by the sight of a united Episcopal Church, and on the other side be disappointed by a divided and correspondingly weakened Presbyterianism, represented by three main bodies. If the Episcopal Church were a mere worldly organization, it could afford to rejoice in this disunion of its rivals. But it sees too many sad results of division to allow it to take up this position. The vast increase of the industrial population which has taken place in the last hundred years has raised problems for all religious bodies, which they cannot, under present conditions, either solve or evade.

In England a similar division prevails in the ranks of Christianity, with this difference—that the ecclesiastical system which is established there is akin to our disestablished Church in Scotland. Accordingly, we have in Great Britain two powerful established Churches which are not in communion with each other, and a number of other religious bodies of varying strength, each pursuing its own way. In many ways these organizations substitute competition for that co-operation which would be more in keeping with obedience to their common Master. By virtue of its position as a disestablished, legally dissenting Church, the Episcopal Church in Scotland occupies a unique position among these organizations. If the plan which has in the past been adopted to secure unity has been a marked failure, perhaps this Church can point to a better way.

Unity has been sought by the exclusion of dissenters : let it now be accomplished by their inclusion. The Scottish Episcopal Church, being Catholic and dissenting, can make its appeal to the Church of England and to the English Nonconformists.

This Church inherits the desire expressed by Bishop Sage ; but the question is one of issues vastly greater and wider than in the days of that venerable writer, for the English-speaking races have carried their religious ideas and prejudices throughout the world. As Anglicanism has spread by means of British colonies, so also has Presbyterianism ; and the question of union exists wherever the British race is found. There are many considerations which suggest that Scotland may lead in the movement towards reconciliation.

Three spheres may be mentioned where the difficulties and weaknesses of division particularly shew themselves. First, there is the shepherding of the vast masses of the industrial population of the towns. Such a population rises far more rapidly in a locality now than formerly ; and church accommodation does not as a rule keep pace with the increase. Even where adequate accommodation is found by taking churches and chapels all into account, the parochial system is found to have broken down, and energy is dissipated by the overlapping of agencies and workers ; while the people for whom the agencies exist are hardly influenced. The second sphere is that of the religious and moral instruction of the young. Many believe that the time is not far distant when secular instruction alone will be the rule of the national school system. The only apparent means by which the Churches can grapple with the problem which may thus be thrown upon them is a thoroughly efficient and attractive system of Sunday Schools ; and this will demand co-operation, which will not be effective without union. And in the third place, there is the difficulty in foreign mission work of convincing the intelligent heathen that we are all one when we are not.

In the important question of union in Scotland the

Episcopal Church does not stand alone. It will move only on lines which have the sanction of the whole Anglican Communion. There used to be a fear expressed that, if the Presbyterian Churches ever sought an Episcopate, they would endeavour to make terms with England without reference to the Episcopal Church in their own land. But the passing of time has seen the exchange of opinions between bishops and Presbyterians in the General Assembly itself, and there is no ground for that fear now.

The Lambeth Conference of bishops, which began in 1867, took up the question of 'Home Reunion' in 1888. It was a subject dear to the heart of Bishop Charles Wordsworth of St. Andrews, who had worked with the most unflagging zeal and devotion in Scotland for the cause. The matter had already been taken up in 1886 by the 'General Convention' of the American Episcopal Church, and resolutions had been adopted by that Convention. Mature and well-considered views were therefore available. As a result of the consideration of the questions involved, the Lambeth Conference adopted certain Articles as a proposed basis for the consideration of union. These Articles¹ were identical in substance with those of the 'General Convention' of the American Episcopal Church. It is worth while to emphasize this circumstance, for it clears the home bishops of any possible charge of want of enthusiasm. The Articles were :

'(1) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as "containing all things necessary to salvation," and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith. (2) The Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal Symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith. (3) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of Institution, and of the elements ordained by Him. (4) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church.'

¹ See *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, Encyclical Letter*, p. 81 sq. (S.P.C.K.) The whole tone of this Report is full of charity and of the spirit of compromise.

It is to be noted that there is in these Articles no demand for the acceptance of a Prayer Book, or of vestments, or of Confirmation. Nor is there any suggestion for the abolition of Presbyteries or of General Assemblies. There are laid down for us in the first three Articles the mere essentials as accepted by almost all who call themselves Christians. The recent Lambeth Conference has not made the conditions more exacting.

But the fourth Article has been selected as the great obstacle to the Non-Episcopal Churches coming into union with Episcopalians. Yet, after all, it is only the 'Historic Episcopate, locally adapted.' It does not demand the acceptance of a theory of the absolute necessity of Episcopacy to the existence of a Church: it does not even suggest the acceptance of the idea of 'Apostolic Succession' beyond what is visible in the laying on of hands: it does not demand an organization similar to that of the Church of England, with its restricted popular representation, its Parliamentary control, its antiquated system of patronage, its traditional baronial style of living forced upon the bishops—things from which the best elements in the Church of England, including the bishops, are anxious to be free. Many, or even all, of these defects can be explained and justified by the appeal to history; but the problems of the present are not to be solved by mere historical accuracy. The principle of 'the Historic Episcopate' simply means the acceptance of government by bishops, because history proves that it is a useful form of government, and that it has been the normal rule of the Church since Apostolic times, even if it be conceded—as it certainly is not conceded—that the Alexandrian and Columban Churches were Presbyterian.

It would be absurd to claim for an episcopally governed Church the exclusive possession of spiritual gifts. We see around us too plainly the evidence of the working of the Holy Spirit in many other directions for us to take such a view. Presbyterians are not asked to give up anything which they have, but to accept something which they have not at present, which Episcopalians have, and which they

consider it unsafe and unnecessary to give up. The fourth Article is really an appeal to unite in church government on the model of the earliest historical days of the Church, without dividing on the question whether episcopal government was a design of the Founder of the Church, or a natural growth of convenience and analogy. It is possible to be an Episcopalian without committing oneself to the exclusive *validity* of an episcopal ministry.

Of course, Presbyterians often object to union under this fourth Article, that they have a valid ministry already, and an Apostolical succession by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery. This is very much the line which is taken in the excellent exposition of this side of the question by Dr. Archibald Fleming, to which passing reference has already been made. They sometimes say further that, even assuming that the validity may be argued against, the Church of England has on various occasions accepted Presbyterian ordination, and that the Churches of the Reformation did not question intercommunion in such cases. Indeed, some Presbyterians now make the claim that their ministers are all bishops.

But the practice of the Anglican Church has never wavered as to episcopal government and ordination. On the other hand, the practice of the Presbyterian Church *has* wavered in the matter of ordination. The First Book of Discipline, drawn up in 1560, omitted imposition of hands from the ceremony of appointing ministers, making this statement :

‘Other ceremonie then the public approbation of the people, and declaration of the chiefe minister (or of him who presided on this occasion), that the person there presented is appointed to serve the church, we cannot approve ; for albeit the apostles used imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremonie we judge not necessarie.’¹

It has to be noted that the Second Book of Discipline, of the year 1581, prescribed the imposition² of the

¹ Lee's *Lectures*, vol. i. p. 157 ; Wright's *Presbyterian Church*, p. 33.

² Chap. iii. Art. 6 ; see Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii. p. 534.

hands of the elders for all office-bearers. This second book contains these words,¹ significant in the present connexion: 'There are foure ordinarie functiones or offices in the kirk of God: the office of the pastor, minister, or bishop; the doctar; the presbyter or eldar; and the deacon.' But in face of the following extract from the 'Claim of Right,' it is clear that Presbyterianism had travelled far between 1581 and 1689: 'that Prelacy, and the superiority of any office in the church above presbyters, is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, ever since the Reformation (they having reformed from popery by presbyters), and therefore ought to be abolished.'²

The acceptance of Presbyterian ordination by the Church of England in the days soon after the Reformation is asserted and denied, but is probably true in certain cases. The following passage from one of a number of curious and interesting pamphlets, mostly controversial, of the reign of Queen Anne bears upon the subject. The collection was made by the Hon. Archibald Campbell, said to have been a Senator of the College of Justice. He bound the pamphlets, and made many notes upon them, besides providing the volumes, of which there are three, with a carefully arranged index. These volumes are in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, but are not very well known, and no attempt has been made to publish them. The pamphlets have only a consecutive character in some cases; but they are most valuable in their bearing on the controversies of the day, carried on as those were with much rudeness and redundancy of expression. The pamphlet in question is entitled 'Imparity among Pastors, the Government of the Church by Divine Institution,' and is the account of a debate which took place between two divines in a bookseller's shop in Edinburgh on June 9, 1702. It contains this statement:

'The episcopal divines who agree with foreign presbyters

¹ Chap. ii. Art. 6.

² See Wodrow's *History*, vol. iv. p. 484.

as to the validity of their ordinations, may very reasonably refuse the validity of ordinations of our countrymen of that persuasion ; because all foreign presbyters own episcopacy to be lawful, would generally be glad to be governed by bishops, did their circumstances allow of it, and do not reject their communion. Whereas our Scots Presbyterians look upon episcopacy as unlawful, and anti-Christian, have abjured it as such, withdrew their obedience from their bishops, deposed them in their assembly at Glasgow *anno* 1638, and refuse to communicate with them.'

But it is undoubtedly the case at the present time, and it has been for an indefinitely long time, that Presbyterian ordinations are conducted with scrupulous regard to the imposition of hands by the whole Presbytery. A modern Presbyterian writer uses the following words :

'So far as the question of the validity of the orders of Presbyterian ministers arises, the Scottish Church has never for a moment entertained the slightest doubts. It rests on the untroubled assurance that the orders of her ministers are not only valid, but in the direct succession of the apostles.'¹

That a succession through presbyters is arguable is, we think, very largely admitted. If such a succession is possible, it is derived in the Scottish Presbyterian Church of the present from the same source from which the Scottish Episcopal succession of bishops of the present day has come, and the illustration which Dr. Fleming² used is apt—it is a succession through a network rather than through a line. The differences are that the succession in the Episcopal Church has been interwoven with that of England during the period since 1689, and that it is a succession through ordination by the hands of bishops ; while the Presbyterian succession which is claimed can only be made good from those who were episcopally ordained presbyters at the time of the Revolution of 1689. Numbers of these conformed to the Presbyterian system which was set up at that time, probably in many cases assuring themselves

¹ Wright, *Presbyterian Church*, p. 34.

² *Nineteenth Century*, March 1909.

that the new system would not last, and that they would soon be back to Episcopacy.¹

The historic period from the initiation of the Reformation in Scotland up to the year 1689 does not admit of separate treatment for the present Episcopal and the present Presbyterian Churches. It is interesting as exhibiting the opposing tendencies which at different times existed side by side under the same Church organization, and which ultimately led to the separation of 1689. It is also interesting as indicating to what extent the parties and individuals associated with these tendencies valued and observed 'Catholic Truth and Apostolic Order.' But it is by no means of overwhelming importance in the consideration of the possibility of union at the present day. It is of much greater moment that we should go back to the point of cleavage, which is to be found in the year 1689. If the Church of Scotland was not Catholic at the moment before cleavage, then the Episcopal Church of the present day can only derive its Catholicity from the intermingling of the English succession with its own since then on the theory of the network. But because many episcopally ordained presbyters remained under the Presbyterian organization, the same theory provides a Presbyterian succession on the assumption that such a succession is possible, and that the Church was Catholic at the moment before cleavage. This, we take it, is the argument of Dr. Fleming. We are not arguing in favour of this Presbyterian succession, but merely trying to view the question from the Presbyterian standpoint. And it can hardly be denied that the proposition is *arguable*. The fourth clause in the basis of union of 1888 does not of necessity, nor even by implication, deny a Presbyterian succession. There *may be* such a succession in the Presbyterian Church: there *is* a succession in the Anglican Church, denied only by the Romans and by those who believe neither in the existence or the necessity of a succession. But as there are so many who believe both in the necessity and the reality of a succession, union will not be accomplished by proceeding as if there were neither.

¹ Wright, *Presbyterian Church*, p. 236.

There ought to be little difficulty in arranging a method by which bishops should rule constitutionally in their dioceses, while retaining the Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. At the present time the Episcopal Church is at least as democratic as the Established Church. It has its election of bishops by laity as well as clergy, and its Representative Church Council and Consultative Council containing both elements, the bishops sitting in the latter body at the present time under the presidency of a layman.

The desire for union is abroad, but when we seek to translate wishes into facts we are met by the statement that the Established Church cannot accept bishops, and that the United Free Church cannot accept the principle of Establishment. These two Churches have been endeavouring, during the last two years, to arrive at terms of union. Professor Cooper has enumerated the steps by which a Joint Committee was formed to work on this subject.¹ He has also expressed the regret which many felt that a union of much wider scope was not accepted as within their immediate view. But there are many Episcopalians who, while desiring the accomplishment of the greater union, believe that the steps taken were the best calculated to bring about the union which they desire. At the same time there are many members of the Established Church, ministers and laity quite outside the 'somewhat exiguous' following which supported Professor Cooper, who are at the present time rather uneasy at what they conceive to be the possibility of the 'establishment principle' being surrendered to the supporters of 'pure voluntaryism.' The Episcopal Church, being a Church which approves of 'establishment,' and which yet exists on the basis of 'pure voluntaryism,' is not inspired by this uneasiness. But if the attempt at Presbyterian reunion should fail it will probably be on this difficulty. In that event it is almost a certainty that the Established Church will turn towards the Episcopal Church. So far, however, negotiations seem to be proceeding towards agreement, and it can hardly be doubted that the

¹ *C.Q.R.* April 1909.

accomplishment of a Presbyterian reunion will strengthen the feeling in favour of a still greater triumph of the spirit of unity.

The first thing that must be realized is that union cannot be accomplished without compromise, and compromise implies mutual concession. The Episcopal Church will concede much, if the principle of the admission of an order of bishops to a place in the united Church be conceded to it. This Episcopate may seem an attenuated form to some who associate the office chiefly with a palace, and with a seat in the House of Lords. But the history of Scotland shews us three periods of episcopal government in the reformed Church; and it is open to belief that but for political interference the Church in Scotland would have developed peacefully on episcopal lines.

John Knox was really episcopalian,¹ and his First Book of Discipline established superintendents, ministers, and readers—a threefold ministry, like that of bishops, priests, and deacons. The superintendents were bishops in function, even when they were laymen in the strictest sense of the term like Erskine, the laird of Dun, who was superintendent of Angus. By the Convention of Leith in 1572, the title of 'bishop' was restored²; and these 'tulchan' bishops, though never validly consecrated, were accepted and valued, as is shewn by the petition of the 'Nine Articles,'³ presented to the Regent Morton by the General Assembly of 1574. This was the first episcopal period. The modern General Assembly could probably at any time create such an order of titular bishops and give them functions—just as the Lutheran Church of Scandinavia did at the beginning of the nineteenth century—although certain Acts of the Scottish Parliament just before the Union, and the Act of Union itself, might prove to be obstacles. But unless they were consecrated by bishops who had received their powers in the recognized historic manner, they would not fulfil the condition of the 'Historic Episcopate.'

¹ Lee's *Lectures*, vol. i. p. 169; Calderwood's *History*, vol. ii. pp. 8 and 56.

² Sage, *Presbytery Examined*, p. 243.

³ *Ibid.* p. 251.

The second episcopal period is that of the consecration of 1610, when three titular bishops, Spottiswood of St. Andrews, Hamilton of Galloway, and Lamb of Brechin, were consecrated on October 21, in the chapel at London House, by the Bishops of London, Rochester, and Worcester. The new bishops, returning to Scotland, consecrated the occupants of the remaining sees ; and it is to be noted that all were consecrated without passing through the steps of deacon and priest.¹

When the Restoration took place in 1660, the only survivor of the Spottiswood creation was Sydserff, Bishop of Galloway. The first of the 'Apostolic Canons,' a collection considered to belong to a period not later than the end of the fourth century,² says: 'Let a bishop be ordained by two or three bishops.' Ecclesiastical practice has carefully followed this rule ; and, in accordance with it, on December 15, 1661, Sharp was consecrated Archbishop of St. Andrews, Fairfoul Archbishop of Glasgow, Hamilton Bishop of Galloway, and Leighton Bishop of Dunblane. The consecration took place in Westminster Abbey, the consecrating bishops being those of London, Worcester, Carlisle, and Llandaff. The bishops on this occasion passed through the steps of deacon and priest³ ; but when they, on their return, consecrated others, they did not insist on this. This line of bishops, rejected by the Presbyterian Church on its establishment in 1690, is the line which subsists in the Episcopal Church in Scotland to-day ; and it is open to the Presbyterian Church of the present to assume again its own third period

¹ Lee's *Lectures*, vol. ii. p. 186 ; Row's *History*, p. 283 and footnote ; Spottiswood's *History*, p. 514.

² The compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions* is identical with the Pseudo-Ignatius, and the 'constitutions' and 'canons' together are the work of a single compiler. The principal sources of the 'canons' are the canons of the synod of Antioch (A.D. 341) and the 'constitutions' themselves. For a discussion of the subject see Lightfoot, *S. Ignatius*, i. 253 sqq., and Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. xxiv sqq.

³ Wodrow, *History*, vol. i. p. 239 ; Row, *History*, p. 305.

of bishops, to be under no accusation of receiving a brand new type, but to be able to say on the contrary that it has hearkened to the words: 'Ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein.' To those who speak of the adoption of episcopal government as a surrender to the Episcopal Church, we commend this view for consideration.

Having resumed the line of the third episcopal period, the organization of the second period would be more acceptable to Presbyterians, because it was more constitutional. This is the period which the Lambeth Conference appears to have preferred as a model. General Assemblies met on many occasions, those of 1610, 1616, 1617, and 1618 being worthy of remembrance. In the third episcopal period there were, no General Assemblies; but kirk sessions, presbyteries, and diocesan synods existed.

Can Presbyterianism, then, retaining its kirk sessions, presbyteries, synods, and General Assembly, as the organization of the united Church, concede to us that bishops shall be the highest executive officers of the Church, exercising exclusively the power of the laying on of hands, except in so far as presbyters have the historic right of joining in the laying on of hands in the ordination of presbyters, as ordered in our Prayer Book? It may be remarked in passing that some Presbyterian writers on Church Reunion do not seem to be aware of this historic practice, embodied in our Ordinal.

Can the Episcopal Church unite on the basis of such an acceptance of the 'Historic Episcopate, locally adapted,' surrendering its own organizations, the growth of two centuries of sacrifice, together with those latest developments of the lay influence in Church government which have been mentioned already? That surrender would be a great sacrifice for unity. When Presbyterian opponents of reunion on the basis of the acceptance of bishops assert that that would mean their annexation by the Episcopal Church, it may be asked if they realize that in the reunited Church the present Episcopalians would simply be absorbed, being only about three in every hundred of the population. It is in this connexion that the obstacle of 'atmosphere'

affects Episcopalians—a very real difficulty. Whatever influence the old Episcopalians would have under the new conditions would not be an influence of numbers, but of principles.

Assuming mutual concessions on organization, we have still the important questions of present Orders, Worship, and Doctrinal Standards. The Anglican Communion has never ‘unchurched’ Presbyterians,¹ nor condemned or denied the validity of Presbyterian Orders. But it has never asserted the validity of those Orders, and its attitude towards them is one of caution. As has already been implied, there is no such hesitancy on the other side in regard to Anglican Orders. Presbyterians do not doubt the succession or the validity of those Orders. Accordingly, it would seem to be a safer ground if we decide to meet upon Anglican Orders rather than upon the *arguable* Presbyterian Orders. The Romans would wish nothing better than that Anglicans should give up their present attitude, and definitely commit themselves to the parity of Anglican and Presbyterian Orders: this would give to the Roman Church an opening from which it would not be slow to profit.

In the reunited Church which is the vision of many, we take it that no one would be asked to commit himself to the theory that Episcopacy is an absolute essential to the existence of a Church. There are Anglican priests, and, we believe, even bishops, who do not hold that view. But though they do not hold Episcopacy to be of the *esse*, they believe it to be of the *bene esse*. The attitude of a good many may probably be thus expressed, ‘Our *feeling* is that Episcopacy is of the *esse*; our *judgement* tells us that the proof carries us as far as the proposition that it is of the *bene esse*, but not so far as the proposition that it is of the *esse*.’

The twenty-third of the XXXIX Articles leaves the question of Orders without a final deliverance. So may we. Many ministers, for the sake of unity, would accept ‘reordination’ by bishops. The writer has discussed

¹ Norris, *Rudiments of Theology*, p. 101.

this with many ministers both of the Established and of the United Free Churches, and the number who have expressed themselves in this sense is quite remarkable. But where an objection existed, there would be no reason to press any present minister, provided that the future were secured, and that old congregations were guarded against disturbance of their historic Episcopalian basis.

The plan of union thus sketched is not greatly in advance of the famous 'accommodation' offered by Bishop Leighton¹ at Paisley in 1670. It must be remembered that Leighton's offer was made in days of chaos, and was based on the conviction that if the ministers were left to their own will, matters would soon be arranged in favour of regular Episcopalian government. The Articles of the offer are worth recounting. They were: (1) That the Church should be governed by the bishops and their clergy, mixing together in the Church judicatories, in which the bishop should act only as a president, and be determined by the majority of his presbyters, both in matters of jurisdiction and ordination. (2) That the presbyters should be allowed, when they first sat down in their judicatories, to declare that their sitting under a bishop was submitted to by them for peace sake; with a reservation of their opinion with relation to any such presidency; and that no negative vote should be claimed by the bishop. (3) That bishops should go to the churches, in which such as were candidates for ordination were to serve, and hear and discuss any exceptions that were made to them, and ordain them with the concurrence of the presbytery. (4) That such as were to be ordained should have leave to declare their opinion, if they held that the bishop was only the head of the presbyters. (5) That provincial synods should sit in course, every third year, or oftener if the king summoned them; in which complaints of the bishops should be received, and they should be censured according to their deserts.

When we come to the forms of worship, and realize that

¹ Wodrow, *History*, vol. ii. p. 181; J. N. Pearson, *The Whole Works of Leighton*, vol. i. p. 35; Bishop Burnet's *History of his own Time*, vol. i. p. 273.

the 'Lords of the Congregation' prescribed the English Prayer Book¹ for use on Sundays and other Festival days, and that, this order having been issued on December 3, 1557, Knox must himself have used the Prayer Book, Presbyterians need not recoil from a similar use now. The 'Authorised Version' of the Bible used by Presbyterians now has never been adopted by the General Assembly, but was prescribed by Laud's Scottish canons in 1636; yet it has displaced the 'Geneva Bible' authorized by the General Assembly of March 7, 1574.² In the third Episcopalian period, the difference between Episcopalian and Presbyterian worship was that the former used the Lord's Prayer, the 'Glory,' and the 'Amen,' while the Presbyterians omitted them. Bishop Burnet, when parish minister of Saltoun, used the Prayer Book, apparently not reading it³; while Skinner, in his history, proves that it was read in the church of Dumfries, and states that various ministers used it similarly.⁴

But these examples merely prove that the Prayer Book was not always distasteful to the people: yet it was so in most places. It could easily be agreed that, in the united Church, congregations should be at liberty to use the English Prayer Book or a Book of Common Order, provided that prescribed forms were used in the administration of the Sacraments, and always allowing that the presbyter should have the right to exercise in addition his gift of 'free prayer.' There would be in such an arrangement a beautiful elasticity, such as is now often desired by Anglicans in their efforts to reach 'all sorts and conditions of men'; and the Presbyterian could have the service to which he has been accustomed. Many of our own people do not use the Prayer Book with ease. It makes a strong

¹ Calderwood, *History*, vol. i. p. 328; Sage, *Presbytery Examined*, p. 165; Wright, *Presbyterian Church*, pp. 4 and 67.

² Lee, *Lectures*, vol. ii. p. 23; Wright, *Presbyterian Church*, p. 60.

³ *Life of Bishop Burnet*, by his son, Thomas Burnet, vol. ii. p. 67; *Supplement to Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time*, by H. C. Foxcroft, p. 471.

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 606; also Lawson, *History*, vol. ii. p. 50; McDowall, *History of the Burgh of Dumfries*, p. 452.

appeal to the educated and cultured ; but the grip which the Presbyterian service in Scotland and the similar Non-conformist service in England have on their adherents, together with the power exhibited by a rousing Church Army service in a crowded 'mission room,' shew that there is need of more 'elasticity.'

So far as the arrangement suggested would give a general sanction to practices usually considered foreign to Presbyterianism, these would already be found in the 'Five Articles of Perth' adopted by the General Assembly held in that city in 1618, and ratified by Parliament in 1621. They are : (1) Kneeling to receive the Holy Communion ; (2) Private Communion of the sick ; (3) Private Baptism ; (4) The keeping of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday ; (5) Confirmation. They remain on the Statute Book of Scotland, not repealed, only ceasing to be operative by disuse, and by some ministers of the present day tentatively revived in part.¹

It is often assumed that the doctrinal standards of the two systems form a bar to union. Yet if we take the 'Westminster Confession,' first adopted in Scotland in 1647, and compare it with the 'XXXIX Articles' as adopted in 1571, we shall find a wonderful similarity of teaching. Three examples must suffice here, namely, Predestination, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. In the Articles they are treated in numbers 17, 27, and 28 respectively ; while in the Confession they are treated in chapters 3 and 10, 28 and 29 respectively. The doctrine of Predestination is as capable of Calvinistic interpretation in the Articles as in the Confession ; the Confession teaches Regeneration in Baptism and uses the very word ; and the Confession, while declaring in section 2 that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is 'only a commemoration,' yet in section 5 gives the elements a mysterious relation to our Lord, and in section 1 implies that they are a spiritual nourishment. The Anglican doctrine of a Presence which is real, but spiritual, and excluding a corporeal Presence, is not far separated from this. But in the meantime there is a strong

¹ Wright, *Presbyterian Church*, p. 47.

tendency, not confined to the Presbyterian Churches, to desire more freedom in the expression of spiritual truth, and to get away from formal subscription to an elaborate body of theological statements, which are at best merely the expression of the views of a certain number of leading thinkers of a particular age. If this tendency could lead us all back to the creeds of primitive Christianity, the agreement would be simplified. In any case, while there are so many points of agreement, and so many details on which adjustment of differences is possible, it ought to be a matter of sincere desire that we should confer as brethren, and seek to form a strong united Church in each of the two kingdoms which make up Great Britain—two Churches which should be in complete communion with each other, while preserving their national autonomy.

Many in Scotland, on both sides, have been asking for a large and representative Conference of Presbyterians and Episcopalians. The spectacle of such a conference, striving for a complete and comprehensive union, would arouse a popular enthusiasm which would give the movement the momentum needed to carry it to success. That there is a wide and widening desire in Scotland for union is beyond doubt. The plan which has been sketched in these pages was put forward in 1907 in the *Scotsman* newspaper in two articles, of which the former had some part in evoking the long correspondence to which Professor Cooper has referred in his article in this Review.¹ The *Scotsman* displayed a most sympathetic attitude towards the subject, as was shewn by the long period during which its columns were open to correspondents, some of whom were in favour of the plan and some against, while many private letters addressed to the present writer were couched in terms of approval. These letters were spontaneous, and though, of course, they do not get rid of the difficulties, they indicate desire and expectation, which are often the precursors of great movements. Great movements appear suddenly. When the sudden, irresistible movement towards reunion arises, it will probably not proceed on this plan or on any

¹ C.Q.R. April 1909, p. 173.

other plan which has been proposed ; yet all these plans will in a sense be embodied, for they will have done something to prepare the way.

If the idea of a conference could be extended to England, the effect would be proportionately greater. The Hampton Court Conference of 1604, and the Savoy Conference of 1661, were both designed, or were supposed to be designed, in the cause of Unity. But they failed, for reasons which cannot be discussed here. A grand conference of the bishops and other leaders of the Church of England with the leaders of the Nonconformist bodies of the country might in the present day have better prospects of success.

THOMAS HANNAN.

ART. IV.—JERUSALEM.

1. *Jerusalem ; the Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70.* By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament Language, Literature and Theology, United Free Church College, Glasgow. Two volumes. (London : Hodder and Stoughton. 1907-8.)
2. *The Second Temple in Jerusalem, its Structure and History.* By W. SHAW CALDECOTT, M.R.A.S. (London : John Murray. 1908.)
3. *Ancient Jerusalem.* By S. MERRILL. (London and New York : Fleming H. Revell Co. 1908.)
4. *The City of Jerusalem.* By C. R. CONDER, LL.D., M.R.A.S., R.E. (London : John Murray. 1909.)

BEFORE dealing with some of the many interesting and important topics discussed in these volumes, it may be well to indicate, in the briefest possible manner, the scope and character of the books themselves. With regard to the work by Professor G. A. Smith, who has now succeeded Dr. Marshall Lang as Principal of the University of Aberdeen, it is no exaggeration to say that it is the most

important contribution made up to the present time to the subject with which it deals. As its title implies, the range of topics dealt with is very wide; but one needs to study the work to realize the immense scope of subjects which is embraced—economic problems, natural resources, commerce, taxation, finance (including Temple revenues), trades and industries, government and police; a most interesting and vivid chapter on the Multitude; these and many others, besides an elaborate history of the city, and a minute investigation into the various topographical problems. The well-known charm of Professor Smith's literary style, added to his great learning, makes these volumes a fascinating work of literature as well as of scholarship. As one would naturally expect, all the conclusions reached are based upon the minutest study of all available *data*; while not trammelled by traditionalism, the author has every respect for traditional beliefs and theories, and only rejects them when and if the impartial investigation of facts and the demands of common sense compel him to do so. It will be many a long year before this great work is superseded.

Mr. Caldecott's book is of an altogether different character; it is for the most part historical, and is concerned with the exilic and post-exilic periods (to the former of which he assigns the Book of Daniel); it deals only in small measure with the subject of its title, but in so far as this is done, great pains have been taken with all details of architecture and measurement. The main thesis of the book will best be described in the writer's own words:

'The date of Ezekiel's vision [Ezek. xl., etc.] was 572 B.C., being the thirty-third year of Nebuchadrezzar's reign. It was thirty-six years after this that the second Temple was begun, during which years the prophet's writings may have become well known throughout Babylonia.'¹

Later on he says: 'The plans [*i.e.* of the Second Temple], of course, were before them [*i.e.* before the governor and the high-priest] in Ezekiel's manuscripts and its accompany-

¹ *The Second Temple*, p. 35, note.

ing drawings¹; and again²: 'I fully subscribe to the statement that no reconstruction which is not based upon a whole-hearted acceptance of Ezekiel's figures and statements will live or will deserve to live.' The idea that Zerubbabel's Temple was built according to the plans of Ezekiel's idealized Temple is difficult to accept, skilfully as Mr. Caldecott presents his theory; for he does not, as it seems to us, sufficiently explain away the following facts:—Solomon's Temple was 104 cubits in length, and 50 cubits from north to south; Ezekiel's Temple was conceived of as 500 cubits square: now if Zerubbabel's Temple was built upon the plans of Ezekiel's Temple, which in conception was such a vastly grander structure than Solomon's Temple, how can one explain the words in Hag. ii. 3: 'Who is left among you that saw this house in its former glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes as nothing?' It is in order to compensate, as it were, for the humble building that Haggai looked upon, and to encourage those who had seen the former house in their disappointment, that the prophet said (v. 9): 'The latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former, saith the Lord of hosts,' the reference being to the time of the Messianic era (see *vv.* 6–8). How could Zerubbabel's Temple be spoken of 'as nothing' in comparison with Solomon's Temple if the former had been built according to the plans of Ezekiel's Temple, which in conception was so much more glorious than Solomon's Temple? Mr. Caldecott himself says:

'The sites of the two Temples under view having been the same, it is doubtful if their enclosure walls were not the same. Nebuzaradan burnt Solomon's Temple, but the stone walls around it would not burn, and were probably repaired by Zerubbabel.'³

In reply to this, it must be said, on the one hand, that if Zerubbabel's Temple had been built in accordance with the plans of Ezekiel's Temple, it would have to have extended far beyond the walls of Solomon's Temple; and, on the

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 150.² *Ibid.* p. 363.³ *Ibid.* p. 362.

other hand, if the enclosure walls of Zerubbabel's Temple were the same as those of Solomon's Temple, the former could scarcely have been spoken of 'as nothing' in comparison with the latter. Of course Mr. Caldecott grapples with this difficulty, and he does so with great skill; but we confess that he does not appear to us to have established his theory. To go into the details of his argument would be out of place here, for it would involve a consideration of many intricate points and technical *minutiae* which would take up a great deal of space.

The late Mr. Merrill's large volume is concerned for the most part with topography: his survey begins with Jerusalem as it was when besieged by Titus, and he works backwards to the time of Nehemiah, though touching incidentally on the history of earlier times, describing the buildings and walls of Jerusalem through their various vicissitudes as well as the surrounding hills and valleys. The main purpose of the book is to study Jerusalem from the point of view of a fortress: a great deal of space is consequently devoted to questions of attack and defence; the best part of the book is unquestionably that dealing with the walls, to the study of which the two concluding chapters are devoted. From a literary and scholastic point of view the volume is disappointing; it is wanting in system and order, a large variety of subjects are touched upon in a haphazard fashion without any attempt at co-ordination. If the author made use of any works other than the Bible and Josephus, which one is sometimes inclined to doubt, he makes no acknowledgment of the fact; his faith in Josephus is pathetic. The method of argument often used is weak—here is an instance: 'The argument of those who advocate the Ophel ridge theory is this:—because Nehemiah states that the stairs of the City of David and the wall went up above the house of David, therefore the City of David stood on Ophel. To which this is a parallel:—because a modern writer states that near the Jaffa gate stands the Castle of David, therefore the Castle of David was at that point.'¹ That is not

¹ *Ancient Jerusalem*, p. 352.

a convincing form of argument, quite apart from the fact that the writer shews clearly that he does not know what the arguments really are of those—and they include the great majority of modern experts in the subject¹—who advocate the Ophel ridge theory. The redeeming feature of this book is in the illustrations, which are admirable.

Lastly, we have Colonel Conder's book. This covers the whole history of Jerusalem from the earliest mention of it in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets to the modern city as seen to-day. The book therefore contains a very large mass of interesting material, and the charming manner of Colonel Conder's writing gives the reader delight in addition to the instruction and interest of the contents of the book itself. Colonel Conder's reading and research are immense, and the result of these is seen on every page of his book. The object of the volume, as stated in the Preface, is

'to present in a convenient form the results of research and exploration concerning the history and buildings of the city of Jerusalem—results which have accumulated during the last half-century, but which are scattered in many expensive works not easily accessible for the general reader.'

The volume thus professes to be for general readers, but the writer's scholarship is none the less stamped upon his book throughout. Very few ordinary readers know anything about the history of Jerusalem during the Middle Ages and onwards, nor even of any books from which they can gain information on the subject; very welcome, therefore, to such will be the last five chapters of Colonel Conder's book, which deal with the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Turks, the Latin kingdom, and the Franks and Moslems, all in their relation to the city of Jerusalem. On some of the most vital questions concerning the ancient topography of Jerusalem—questions upon which a good deal depends—Colonel Conder is at variance with practically

¹ Birch, Mühlau, Stade, Robertson Smith, Sayce, Guthe, Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren, Socin, Benzinger, Buhl, Bp. Ryle, Driver, Nowack, Bliss, G. Adam Smith.

the consensus of modern scholarship : he is a traditionalist, holding tenaciously, for example, to the traditional view regarding the site of the 'City of David,' which is the fundamental question of the topography of Jerusalem ; he clings to this in spite of all that has been said proving its untenableness ; it is a pity, especially as in this, his new book, his arguments on the subject will do no more than illustrate the weakness of his position. We shall have to return to this in the following pages. Apart from that, however, Colonel Conder's volume is to be highly recommended to all who desire to have some real knowledge of the 'Holy City.'

Of the four works referred to that of Professor G. A. Smith stands immeasurably above the rest ; it is absolutely indispensable to the student of Jerusalem. The only reason why it has been so briefly dealt with is because of the use that is to be made of it in what follows. With such an immense mass of material as is presented in the above-mentioned books, it is somewhat difficult to know how to deal with the general subject of Jerusalem of which they treat ; it will, however, probably be best to restrict ourselves to a few topics which will, it may be hoped, be of general interest.

I.

We propose to take first the names and titles of Jerusalem. The origin of the name 'Jerusalem' is a subject of considerable importance, historically, because it opens up the larger question as to whether the name was Canaanite, or whether it was given by the Babylonians during a period when, as we know, Babylonian culture pervaded Palestine. In the Hebrew Bible there are two forms, viz. *Yērūshālāim*, and the fuller *Yērūshālāyim*, the latter occurring five times (perhaps only thrice) in passages of late date.¹ It can, however, be said with absolute certainty

¹ Jer. xxvi. 18 ; Esth. ii. 6 ; 2 Chron. xxxii. 9 ; 1 Chron. iii. 5 ; 2 Chron. xxv. 1 ; there is some uncertainty as to the spelling in the last two passages.

that, so far as the Hebrews were concerned, there was an earlier form of the name, viz. *Yērūshālem*. The evidence for this form and its pronunciation is, as Dr. G. A. Smith shews, conclusive; for it 'suits the Hebrew consonants, it is confirmed by the Septuagint and New Testament transliteration, *Ierousalēm*, and by the earliest appearance of the name in classic Greek¹; it appears in the Biblical Aramaic, *Yērūshlem*, and in the Hebrew contraction, *Shālēm*.' But alongside of the earliest Hebrew form there is the Babylonian, which occurs on the Tell-el-Amarna tablets (c. 1400 B.C.), viz. *Uru-sa-lim*, and which, with slight modification, has been handed down through Assyrian, Aramaic, Nabataean, and Mandaic inscriptions, as well as in Syriac and Arabic literature.

Two ancient traditions, therefore, present us with two forms of the name of the city: the Hebrew and the Babylonian, witnessing respectively to *Yērūshālem* and *Uru-sa-lim*; the question is as to which of these two forms is the original. The Assyriologists, though they differ on certain details, seem to be agreed upon the main point of the Babylonian form being the original, and the earliest Hebrew form a modification of this: they all hold that *Uru* signifies 'city,' but they differ as to the meaning of the latter half of the name; it is held by some that *Salim* is the name of a god,² while others maintain that it means 'peace.'

¹ Clearchus of Soli, a pupil of Aristotle, quoted by Josephus, *c. Apion*. i. 22.

² With the belief that the city took its name from a god, cf. the following note concerning the *Kubbet es-Sakhra* which Clermont-Ganneau gives in his *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, i. 186: 'With regard to the building of the Sakhra by Abd-el-Melik, Ibn Khaldûn distinctly states (*Prolegom.* ii. p. 268) that it was built by Greek workmen. In this connection I may mention a very curious legend quoted a few pages before (p. 263) by the same author, as to the origin of the Sakhra: "the Mosque of Ek Aksa," he tells us, "was, in the time of the Sabaeans, a temple of Venus; they used to anoint the Sakhra rock in her honour; later the Israelites gained possession of it." Who knows whether under this tradition there may not be hidden some stratum of truth? whether the *cultus* of the Holy Rock may not be connected with some ancient sanctuary

There is a good deal of evidence in favour of *Salim* here being the name of a god,¹ but the evidence is also strong in favour of the latter meaning, which has further the belief of the ancients on its side, as may be seen in Heb. vii. 2, . . . *King of Salem, which is King of peace*, and Zech. xii. 6, where possibly a reference to the meaning of Jerusalem is intended in the words, *and Jerusalem shall yet again dwell in her own place, even in Jerusalem*; the context shews that what is referred to is that Jerusalem shall be preserved in peace in the last times when the nations are to be destroyed; and we may compare, too, Is. xxxiii. 20, *Thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation*.

As regards the two forms of the first part of the name, *Uru-* and *Yeru-*, these in their original forms appear radically different; but Assyriologists maintain that the Babylonian *Uru* or *Uri* (= 'city') became, through a 'dialectic modification,' the Hebrew '*ir* (עיר = 'city'), the initial letter (ע) in this latter having vanished. This contention is very ably challenged by Professor G. A. Smith; he shews first that Babylonian influence in Palestine, so far as place-names are concerned, is very meagre: 'there is little evidence of the impress of Babylonian names upon Palestine.' He then goes on to point out that although the theory is based solely on linguistic evidence, yet that another line of argument can be employed to shew that the linguistic evidence is itself against the theory; he says:

'We have to observe first that if the form *Irushalem* had been derived from *Urusalim*, and the equivalent in Hebrew of the Babylonian *Uru* be '*Ir* (עיר), with an initial 'ayin, we

dedicated to the Semitic Venus, to some *Kadesh*, who, under the form *Kudšs*, bequeathed her very name to the Jerusalem known to history, at the time when she yielded up the place to Jehovah, or at all events shared it with Him?' Professor G. A. Smith does not think there is anything in this analogy, and most likely he is right; at the same time, the possibility of this legend being based on fact must not be lost sight of.

¹ See, in addition to the references given by G. A. Smith (I. pp. 253 f.), Jeremias, *Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, p. 217; Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften u. das Alte Testament* (3rd ed.), pp. 475 ff.; Hommel, *Altisraelitische Ueberlieferung*, p. 217.

might have expected in the Hebrew name an initial 'ayin, or at least, as in the Syriac and Arabic derivations from the Babylonian, an initial 'aleph. The absence of this seems to prove that in Irushalem or Yerushalem we have a form on another line of tradition altogether than that which the Babylonian started.' ¹

He then proceeds to shew, by means of a number of examples, that so far from the Hebrew form being a corruption of the Babylonian, quite the reverse is probably the case: 'not only is it equally possible on phonetic grounds that Urusalim is a corruption, by assimilation of the vowels, from Yerushalem; there are, besides, actual instances of such a change in the Assyrian transliteration of the native names of other places in Palestine'; the result of an examination of these is that 'it is clear that Urusalim may possibly have been produced, by assimilation, from Yĕrû- or Iru-shalem.' So that we must see in the earliest *Hebrew* forms the original name of the Holy City. The probabilities of the case seem also to favour Professor G. A. Smith's contention, for it is in the highest degree likely that a city of some kind existed on this spot *before* the earliest Babylonian influence can have been exercised; so that when this influence did first commence the city already had the name which the first Semitic inhabitants, *i.e.* the 'Amorites,' gave it. The Hebrew name Yerushalem is capable of so many interpretations that it is quite impossible to say with certainty what the original meaning of it was.

Another name given to the city was Jebus; in Judg. xix. 10 it is said of Jebus: *the same is Jerusalem* (the identical note occurs in 1 Chron. xi. 4), and in Josh. xviii. 11 ff., where the border of Benjamin is described, the writer says: *And the border went down to the uttermost part of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is in the vale of Rephaim northward; and it went down to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of the Jebusite southward, and went down to En-rogel* (v. 16). This is the only place in which the name 'the Jebusite' (הִיבוּסִי) is given to Jerusalem, and

¹ *Op. cit.* I. 256.

like 'Jebus' it was probably never really a current name for the city, but was merely so designated by the writer in reference to the Jebusites in whose possession it was, and whose territory lay around it. The name of Jerusalem, as we have seen, had been used for many centuries before the entry into Canaan, and with the exception of the above-mentioned passages the name Jebus is never applied to the city in the Bible. When the Jebusites first conquered Jerusalem we have no means of knowing, but they were firmly established there and in the surrounding districts for a long time before they became finally dispossessed. Indeed, so securely were they established that they could afford to let the Children of Israel dwell in their midst without fear, apparently, of untoward consequences, for in Josh. xv. 63 we read: *And as for the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out; but the Jebusites dwelt with the children of Judah at Jerusalem, unto this day* (cf. Judg. i. 21). In this passage the old name Jerusalem is applied to the city, although the Jebusites are mentioned as the possessors of it, a fact which seems to imply that 'Jebus' was not the name by which the inhabitants knew it.¹

Then, again, we have the name Mount Moriah applied to Jerusalem in 2 Chron. iii. 1, and this is identified by Josephus² with the place in the *land of Moriah* where Abraham prepared to sacrifice Isaac; this was also a Rabbinical tradition. Mount Moriah has, in consequence of these traditions, been applied, at any rate, to the Temple Hill by both Jews and Christians up to the present day.³ But as Professor G. A. Smith points out, 'Abraham's *land of the Moriah* (if that be the proper reading, which is doubtful) is unknown, the identification of it with the Temple Mount is very late, being ignored even by the Chronicler; and the Chronicler's own use of the name, to which he gives another origin,

¹ 'Probably Jebus is a learned derivative from the name of the Jebusites, in whose hands Jerusalem remained down to the time of David' (Moore, *Judges*, p. 413).

² *Antiq.* I. xiii. 1, 2.

³ Cf. e.g. Conder, *op. cit.* p. 27.

is also late, and unsupported by any earlier passage in the Old Testament.' ¹

Of great interest, also, are those names and epithets applied to Jerusalem whereby prophets and psalmists expressed the feelings of their people with regard to it. Of these the earliest, since the city came into the possession of the Israelites, was the *City of David*, given, in the first instance, in commemoration of the part which David took in conquering it; though in later days this name assumed a wider significance owing to the development of Messianic conceptions. Coupled with it from the first was the name of *Zion*, which the Israelites took over from its earlier possessors. These two names are dealt with in the next section. From the point of view of religious beliefs the name of *Ariel*, given first by Isaiah (xxix. 1), is of considerable importance. The most probable meaning of this name is 'altar-hearth (or simply "hearth") of El'; the word occurs also in Ezek. xliii. 15, 16, where in v. 15 it is spelt *har 'el*, which could mean 'mount of God,' if the *Kethib* is right (*cf.* Is. xxix. 7, 8, where *Ariel* is used as synonymous with Mount Zion), but in v. 16 it is the same form as that used by Isaiah. In Is. xxxi. 9 reference is made to a 'fire in Zion' and a 'furnace in Jerusalem'; these facts go far to justify the meaning 'hearth of God' for *Ariel*. If this be the correct meaning it emphasizes the belief, often expressed elsewhere in the Old Testament, of Jerusalem being the chosen and abiding dwelling-place of God; it also implies the same belief which is more directly expressed in the Psalms by such titles, applied to Jerusalem, as 'the City of God,' 'the City of Jehovah of Hosts,' 'the City of the Great King': that is to say, it is not only the possession of God, but also the place where He dwells when on earth. This anthropomorphism is sometimes toned down, as for example in Ps. lxxiv. 7, where Jerusalem is spoken of as the dwelling-place of God's 'Name'; so, too, Deut. xii. 11, . . . *the place which the Lord your God shall choose to cause His name to dwell there*. Nothing was, of course, more calculated to stimulate the people's love and veneration for the city

¹ G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, I. 267-68.

than this belief that when God came down on earth it was here, in their midst, that He dwelt.¹

One other name must be briefly referred to, viz. '*Ir haḳ-Ḳodesh*, 'The Holy City.'² This took its origin, of course, from the belief that God dwelt there; and this, again, arose first in consequence of the concentration in the Temple of Jerusalem of the national worship: as a fixed name it is post-exilic. The name has a special interest on other grounds, since from it started the long series of names meaning the same in many languages, which has continued to the present day. Thus on Jewish coins of the first century there is inscribed *Yerushalaim Ḳedoshah*, or *Haḳ-Ḳedoshah*, 'Jerusalem the Holy' (cf. Matt. iv. 5, xxvii. 53, where we have 'the Holy City'). So in Arabic, Professor G. A. Smith tells us, 'the commonest designation is derived from the same Semitic root for *holy*, *Ḳ-D-S*. It appears in various forms: *Bêt el-Maḳdis*, "domain or place of the Sanctuary"; *el-Muḳaddas* or *el-Muḳaddis*, "the Holy"; or (in the modern vernacular) *el-Ḳuds esh-Sherîf*, or more briefly, *El-Ḳuds*, "the Sanctuary." In the East this is by far the commonest name to-day.'³ But the reason why the city is holy differs as between Jews and Mohammedans. To the latter its holiness is due to their beliefs concerning Mohamet's presence there; on the surface of the 'Holy Rock' in the *Haram* is the mark of his foot-print, in the cave beneath he was said to have prayed with all the prophets who preceded him, from Abraham downwards; and when he ascended to Heaven it was through a hole in the roof of this cave, which may still be seen; the very rock itself had to be held back by Gabriel (whose finger-marks on it

¹ An interesting fact, pointed out by Professor G. A. Smith, is that by the time of the Exile, Jerusalem had come to be known among her people as the *City*, in distinction from the *Land*; and this, he says, is also usual in the Mishna. This fact is 'significant of the growth of her importance both material and spiritual, and of the absence of other cities in the rest of the now much diminished territory. Townships there were, and not a few fenced ones; but Jerusalem stood supreme and alone as The City' (I. 269).

² See Is. xlviii. 2, lii. 1; Neh. xi. 1.

³ *Op. cit.*, I. 270.

are still visible) in order to hinder it from following Mohamet to Heaven.¹ No wonder it is holy to the Mohammedans. To Christians it is holy too—on other grounds.

II.

The great topographical problem concerning Jerusalem—a problem upon which many questions depend—is the site of Zion, the City of David. Nobody who studies Jerusalem—no matter on what lines his investigation proceeds—will fail, sooner or later, to be confronted with this question. It will, therefore, be not inappropriate if we devote some space here to the consideration of the respective positions taken up with regard to this subject by the authorities whose works figure at the head of this article.

The problem reduces itself to an answer to the question : *Was the South-west Hill or the East Hill the site of Zion, the City of David ?* The traditional view is that the South-west Hill was not only an integral part of the city before the time of David, but that it contained also the citadel captured by him from the Jebusites, and that it remained the centre of political and military power under the kings of Judah. According to the more modern view, Zion, the City of David, lay on the East Hill, on the part called Ophel ; and Mount Zion came to be the equivalent of the Temple Mount in the Old Testament.

The arguments on behalf of either contention may be briefly stated as follows : The evidence of Josephus seems clearly and definitely in favour of the traditional view. He describes the upper city of his own times as having been the mountain-top captured by David ; and in speaking of the gates in the western quarters of the Temple enclosure, he says :

“ And the last led to the other city, where the road descended down into the valley by a great number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent ; for the city lay over against the Temple

¹ See further, Conder, *op. cit.* pp. 253 *sqq.*

in the manner of a theatre, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter.' ¹

The authority of Josephus was that upon which the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) and (in the 'Onomasticon') Eusebius (c. 350 A.D.), and also Jerome (c. 400 A.D.), relied when they described the Western Hill as the site of Zion ²; and from them onwards this became the accepted opinion among Christians.

Secondly, the South-west Hill seems, on the face of it, to be the most natural site for the main stronghold, being the most massive and dominant of the heights of Jerusalem. The whole physical structure of this hill is very striking. It stands high above the two valleys which flank it—namely, the Wâdy er-Rabâbi and el-Wâd; and the precipitous character of the slopes whereby it is for the most part surrounded makes it an almost ideal site for a fortification. Colonel Conder, one of the foremost exponents of the traditional view, says, in speaking of Jebusite Jerusalem:

'The site indeed seems to have been chosen for its strength, which has again and again been proved by many long and desperate sieges. The city has always been taken from the north, and the upper city on the south-west hill has always been the last quarter to fall. This flat hill, rising 2,500 feet above the level of the sea, measures about 600 yards east and west by 800 yards north and south, thus containing an area of about 100 acres. Since the fourth century A.D. the name Zion has been applied to this hill, which is surrounded on all sides by deep valleys having steep slopes or precipices. . . .'³

And, later on, in discussing the springs, etc., he says:

'The water-supply has been thus described in detail, because it is often assumed that the Jebusite city [he is taking the site

¹ *Antiq.* XV. xi. 5.

² Though, as Professor G. A. Smith points out (I. 164), Origen takes the Temple Hill and Zion to be identical (*Ad Joannem*, iv. 19 ff.); and so, apparently, does even Jerome in one passage (*Ad Esai.* xxii. 1 f.). Cf. Benjamin of Tudela, in his *Itinerary*, p. 24 (ed. M. N. Adler): 'On Mount Zion are the sepulchres of the House of David, and the sepulchres of the kings that ruled after him.'

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 37, 38.

to be on the South-west Hill] must have depended entirely on the En-rogel spring in the Kidron ravine, which was clearly not the case¹; but even if it were so, it would not follow that the Jebusite town must have stood on Ophel, for cities in Palestine were built on the highest and strongest sites available, even if these were not very near the springs.'

He then cites as instances of this, Samaria, Tyre, and Caesarea, and continues :

'There is therefore no difficulty in supposing that Josephus is right in describing the upper city of his own times as having been the "mountain top of Zion" captured by David.'²

Mr. Merrill likewise takes up the traditional standpoint.³

Thirdly, Professor G. A. Smith sums up the further arguments in favour of the traditional view thus :

'This traditional view is expressed in the present nomenclature of the South-west Hill. The tomb of David is believed to lie there, and there is placed the site of the Palace of Solomon, from which a bridge or raised causeway across the central valley is supposed to have served for the passage of the king when he *went up* to the Temple. The southern gate of the present city opening on the hill is called Bab en-Neby Daûd, "Gate of the

¹ With regard to this statement, see below.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 45, 46.

³ He says, in opposition to the contention that the East Hill was the site of Zion : 'Suppose that in process of time this theory should be established as true, what would follow? Certain things which are most improbable, and which have never been true of any city in the world, would be established as true with regard to Jerusalem. For example, (a) in rebuilding the city it was so changed as to be totally unlike the original; (b) its walls were not the same; (c) its castles for defence were not the same; (d) its public buildings were not the same; (e) none of these things followed the same lines, or were located in the same places as at first; (f) no semblance of the old city remained; (g) moreover, the very site was not only obliterated, but forgotten' (p. 281). These naïve remarks do not strengthen the case for the traditional view; we shall see below that the things which Mr. Merrill considers so improbable are just what actually did happen, as greater knowledge of the history of Jerusalem would have shewn him to have been the case.

Prophet David," or Bab Şahyun, "Şion Gate." The Citadel-tower is known as "David's Tower," and the hill as a whole is called by Christians "Mount Şion."¹

That is to say, that local tradition has, from the beginning of the Christian era onwards, been altogether in favour of the view that the South-west Hill was the site of Zion, the City of David. It will be of interest, in passing, to draw attention to a curious story told by Benjamin of Tudela,² in his 'Itinerary,' concerning the tomb of David:

'Fifteen years ago a wall of the church of Mount Zion fell in. The Patriarch commanded the overseer to take the stones of the old walls and restore therewith the church. He did so, and hired workmen at fixed wages; and there were twenty men who brought the stones from the base of the wall of Zion. Among these men there were two who were sworn friends. On a certain day the one entertained the other; after their meal they returned to their work, when the overseer said to them, "Why have you tarried to-day?" They answered: "Why need you complain? When our fellow workmen go to their meal we will do our work." When the dinner-time arrived, and the other workmen had gone to their meal, they examined the stones, and raised a certain stone which formed the entrance to a cave. Thereupon one said to the other: "Let us go in and see if any money is to be found there." They entered the cave, and reached a large chamber resting upon pillars of marble overlaid with silver and gold. In front was a table of gold and a sceptre and crown. This was the sepulchre of King David. On the left thereof in like fashion was the sepulchre of King Solomon; then followed the sepulchres of all the Kings of Judah that were buried there. Closed coffers were also there, the contents of which no man knows. The two men essayed to enter the chamber, when a fierce wind came forth from the entrance of the cave and smote them, and they fell to the ground like dead men, and there they lay until evening. And there came forth a wind like a man's voice, crying out: "Arise, and go forth from this place." So the men rushed forth in terror, and they came unto the Patriarch, and related these things to him. Thereupon the Patriarch

¹ *Op. cit.* I. 134 sq.

² Early in the second half of the twelfth century.

sent for Rabbi Abraham el Constantini, the pious recluse, who was one of the mourners of Jerusalem, and to him he related all these things according to the report of the two men who had come forth. Then Rabbi Abraham replied: "These are the sepulchres of the House of David; they belong to the Kings of Judah, and on the morrow let us enter, I and you and these men, and find out what is there." And on the morrow they sent for the two men, and found each of them lying on his bed in terror; and the men said: "We will not enter there, for the Lord doth not desire to show it to any man." Then the Patriarch gave orders that the place should be closed up and hidden from the sight of man unto this day. These things were told me by the said Rabbi Abraham.¹

But this is a digression.

The main arguments, therefore, in favour of the traditional view that the South-west Hill was the site of Zion are the evidence of Josephus, the site of the Hill itself, and the consensus of tradition.

Now regarding the evidence of Josephus it is very instructive to see the way in which Professor G. A. Smith deals with it. He says:

'Like some of the Old Testament writers, Josephus nowhere uses the name *Ṣion*, either for a part of Jerusalem or in its wider Biblical meaning,² but he places David's-Burgh on the South-west Hill. "The city," he says [*Bell. Jud.* V. iv. 1], "was built over two hills divided by a middle valley. Of these hills, that which held the Upper City was much the higher, and in length the more straight. On account, therefore, of its strength it was called by King David the Fort. but by us the Upper Agora." This is also his view of the topography in his account of the capture of the city by David [*Antiq.* VII. iii. 1 f.]; for he says, that after David "took the lower city," in his view the East Hill, "the citadel held out still," that is on the South-west Hill, till Joab took it. He adds that "when David had cast the Jebusites out of the citadel, he also re-built Jerusalem, and named it the City of David." The contradictions of this with the Biblical account are obvious. In the latter there is no mention of an upper and a lower city; nor did David call the

¹ Adler's edition, p. 24.

² On the Biblical evidence regarding the question see below.

whole of Jerusalem, but only the Jebusite stronghold, the "City of David." It is evident that Josephus has read into those ancient times the conditions of his own, when there were a lower and an upper City on the two hills, and when the citadel built by Herod so completely dominated Jerusalem from the latter that it was natural to suppose that the ancient stronghold had occupied the same site. The Biblical tradition had lasted till the time of First Maccabees, 100 B.C. But between that date and the time of Josephus, over 150 years, there had happened the siege and capture of the City by Pompey, the siege, capture and great devastation by Sosius, and the very extensive rebuilding by Herod, which included the erection of Antonia, of the Temple, and of the great towers and fort on the west of the City. And before all these there had been the extensive building by Hyrcanus I. We have, therefore, more than sufficient to account for this transference by Josephus of the centre of power in Jerusalem from the East to the West Hill.¹

As he then goes on to shew, the statements of Josephus, the lapse of time, the destructions and changed conditions, the ignorance of Christian pilgrims new to the city, careless talk and fallacious reasoning, all contributed to build up the false tradition that the South-west Hill was the site of Zion, the 'City of David.' Such a tradition slowly accumulates, and is fed from a hundred trickling sources, without the slightest intention or idea of deliberate fraud. What Professor G. A. Smith says about the testimony of Josephus strikes one as eminently fair and temperate, and will probably carry more conviction than the estimate of Mr. Merrill, who says :

'The treatment he [*i.e.* Josephus] has in general received from scholars and writers is well known. Probably no scholar rejects him entirely, but many receive his statements with doubt and mistrust, and many of his statements they absolutely reject. . . . It is not too much to say that Josephus is the most defamed and maligned Jew that has lived during the last two thousand years. What harm is there in accepting him as a reliable historian, and trying to give his writings a reasonable explanation? A reasonable explanation has been sought for the writings of Shakespeare—every play and every individual

¹ *Op. cit.* I. 161 sqq.

paragraph. So far as the writer is aware, Josephus has never been accorded the same fair and honest treatment.'¹

Words like these are not calculated to impress us with a high estimate of the writer's judgement.

In answer, secondly, to the contention that the South-west Hill is from its natural structure—dominating as it does all the hills of Jerusalem—the most obvious spot upon which to look for the original site of Zion, it must be pointed out that the formation of this eminence is in itself an objection, for its shape is that of a broad and long mound, uniform, and without any elevation upon it.²

Then with regard to the question of the water-supply, Professor G. A. Smith says that the South-west Hill is waterless and lies aloof from the ancient source or sources of water in the Kidron valley. 'Unless the earthquakes have closed or masked some former vent there was no spring in el-Wâd or the Wady er-Rabâbi; and, indeed, the geology³ renders very improbable the existence there, at any time, of a fountain.' Colonel Conder⁴ maintains that this absence of water is no argument for denying the South-west Hill to be the site of the ancient citadel, because 'cities in Palestine were built on the highest and strongest sites available, even if these were not very near the springs'⁵;

¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 20 sq.

² Sir Charles Wilson, in writing on the subject (Hastings' *D.B.* iv. 983 a), says of the two hills on which the ancient city stood, that the 'western spur [*i.e.* the South-west Hill] is broad-backed, and, so far as its original form is known, there is no broken ground or conspicuous feature upon it that would naturally be selected as the site of a castle such as those usually erected for the protection of an ancient hill-town. . . . The eastern spur, on the other hand, is, for the most part, a narrow ridge of rock, upon which there are good natural positions for the construction of a hill-fort or castle.'

³ Professor G. A. Smith devotes a special chapter to the geology of Jerusalem.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 46.

⁵ His attempt to shew that there were, on the South-west Hill, means of obtaining water (other than that of fetching it from the Kidron valley) is not successful: it is based on suppositions and assumptions which cannot be proved; and he himself evidently does not lay much stress on this part of the argument.

but the instances he gives are not strictly *à propos*, for, as Professor G. A. Smith says :

‘ It is true that some towns in Palestine are planted at as great a distance from their springs as the South-west Hill is from the Kidron valley ; but in no instance (I think) does this happen where a more, or equally suitable site for the town lies nearer the spring, as is the case in Jerusalem.’

This, it must be allowed, makes all the difference.¹

But apart from the arguments for and against the South-west Hill having been the ancient site of Zion, there is the very important evidence which the Old Testament affords. This is not the place to deal in any detail with this evidence, but the main points may be briefly enumerated.

The first mention of Zion is in 2 Sam. v. 7, *Nevertheless David took the stronghold of Zion; the same is the city of David*—Zion and the City of David are identified from the start. In 1 Kings viii. 1 we read of Solomon assembling the elders of Israel, etc., *to bring up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the city of David, which is Zion*. The two are again identified, but in this passage Zion is clearly distinct from the site of the Temple, and it was situated *below* this site ; there can be no doubt of this if the passage 1 Kings viii. 1–6 be read carefully ; ‘ the verb used in verse 6,’ as Professor G. A. Smith points out, ‘ of the conveyance of the Ark, after it had reached the Temple level, to the Holy Place, viz. *brought in*, proves that the verb *brought up* in verses 1 and 4 is to be taken in its obvious sense,² and not (as some argue, who place the original *Ṣion* on the South-western Hill) as if it merely meant *started out with*, or *brought*

¹ One cannot help feeling the force of Sir Charles Wilson’s words that ‘ the evolution of Jerusalem cannot have differed greatly from that of other ancient cities. The earliest settlement would naturally have been on the eastern spur, and it probably consisted of a village on the slopes above the spring, with a small fort on higher ground to which the people could fly on the approach of an enemy ’ (Hastings’ *D.B.* iv. 983 *a*).

² Cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 ff. ; 1 Chron. xxi. 18 ff., according to which David *went up* from his residence in the City of David to the threshing-floor of Araunah, subsequently the site of the Temple.

on its way. To the writer of this passage Şion evidently lay *below* Solomon's Temple: that is, on the site on which topographical reasons have led us to place it, on the eastern ridge above Giḥon.¹ The point to notice especially is that, in these earliest references, the Temple site and Zion, though evidently close to one another on the same hill, were yet two distinct sites; in process of time, however, there was a tendency to extend the application of the name Zion so as to include much more than was originally the case; for example, Amos makes 'Zion' and 'Jerusalem' parallel, in the words: *The Lord shall roar from Zion, and utter His voice from Jerusalem* (i. 2); and Zion is again evidently identified with the Temple when the Lord is represented as saying: *Behold, I lay in Zion, for a foundation, a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone of sure foundation*²; and in Mic. iii. 10 Zion is spoken of as equivalent to the whole town of Jerusalem: *They build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity*.³ This tendency increases among the later prophets, Jeremiah using *Zion* as equivalent to Jerusalem, City and Temple⁴; and the *Daughter of Zion* as the personified city and her population⁵; in the Book of Lamentations *Zion* and the *Daughter of Zion* are frequent designations not only for the city, ruined and desolate, and, as personified, 'spreading forth her hands,' but also of the community carried away captive.⁶ Then again in Deutero-Isaiah *Zion* is used both of the city, as parallel to Jerusalem, and of her exiled people, who are also addressed as the *Daughter of Zion*.⁷ So that in these post-exilic writers *Zion* is used as fully equivalent to *Jerusalem*, and the name is as closely attached to Jehovah as to His people.⁸ It is the same in the Apocrypha.⁹

¹ *Op. cit.* I. 146-47.

² Is. xxviii. 16; *cf.* viii. 18.

³ *Cf.* Is. xxix. 8; xxxi. 4.

⁴ iv. 6; viii. 19; xiv. 19; xxvi. 18.

⁵ iv. 31; vi. 2, 23.

⁶ i. 4, 17; ii. 1, 6; v. 11.

⁷ li. 11; lii. 7 f.; xl. 9; xli. 27; lii. 1, 2, 16; *cf.* Zech. ii. 7.

⁸ See further, Zech. i. 14, 17; viii. 3; *cf.* Is. lix. 20; lx. 14; lxvi. 8; Joel ii. 1, 23; iii. 17.

⁹ See, e.g., 2 (4) Esdras ii. 40, 42; iii. 2, 31; x. 20, 23, 39, 44; xiii. 35, 36; and for the identification of Zion with the Temple Mount, both, however, being distinct from the City of David and

These facts, as will at once be realized, go far in explaining how it was that the erroneous idea arose of the original site of Zion having been on the South-west Hill instead of on the Eastern one. Professor G. A. Smith, in summing up the history of the name of Zion, makes the point under consideration very clear, in the words :

'When Israel, in possession of the Jebusite citadel, changed its ancient name to that of their own king, its conqueror, they may have expected that the former, a foreign and obscure designation, would disappear behind a title so illustrious and, as it proved, so enduring as the "City of David." Instead of this, the name *Ṣion*, as if emancipated from the rock to which it had been confined, began to extend to the neighbourhood, and, advancing with the growth of Jerusalem, became more identified with her final extent and fame than that of David himself. The name of David appears to have remained on the limited area on which his people had placed it : *Ṣion* not only spread over the Temple Mount, the whole city and her population, but even followed the latter during their exile to Babylon. . . . An epithet, originally so limited in application and apparently so concrete in meaning,¹ gradually becomes synonymous with Jerusalem as a whole, is adopted as one of Israel's fondest names for the shrine of their religion, and is finally idealised as an expression of the most sacred aspects of their character as the people of God. Yet even across so wide a career there lie scattered proofs that the spot from which the name started was a narrow summit of the East Hill above Gihon.'²

from the rest of Jerusalem, see 1 Macc. iv. 37, 60 ; v. 54 ; vi. 48, 62 ; vii. 33 ; x. 11 ; xiv. 27 ; 1 Esdras viii. 81 ; Sir. xxiv. 10.

¹ Zion means 'protuberance,' or 'summit of a ridge'; and so 'fort,' or 'citadel.'

² *Op. cit.* I. 145-46. In summing up the evidence of the Bible on the subject, he says: 'Neither in the Old Testament nor in the Apocrypha is there any passage which can be interpreted as applying the name *Ṣion* specially to the South-west Hill. The attempt to do so has indeed been made. Verses of the Psalms, which, according to the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, place within the same couplet *Ṣion* and *Yahweh's Holy Hill* have been interpreted as if they thereby designated *two different localities*; viz. the South-west Hill and the Temple Hill.* But this would imply that within ancient Jerusalem

* Mr. Merrill falls into this error in his book, p. 249.

A study of the whole of the evidence regarding this subject can leave one in no doubt that the opinion of the majority of experts is right, and that Zion, the City of David, was situated on the East, and not on the South-west Hill.

III.

A subject of paramount interest is our Lord's attitude towards Jerusalem, and His connexion with it. There was a striking contrast between the place that Jerusalem occupied in the thoughts and aspirations of the ordinary Jew and that which our Lord thought and taught concerning it. Ever since the time that the national worship was concentrated in Jerusalem it became more and more identified with the hopes and expectations of Israel's future greatness. Jerusalem grew to be the symbol of the nation's unity; the 'Mother' to whom all Jews, whether in Palestine or in the Dispersion, looked up with veneration and love. This has not been confined to any age: we have abundance of testimony throughout the Middle Ages, as well as in modern times, shewing the intense affection that Jews have had for Jerusalem. One of the most pathetic instances of this is the case of Rabbi Nachmanides, who was expelled from his home in Spain, in 1263, on account of his too zealous defence of Judaism; he went to spend the rest of his life in Jerusalem, and he wrote from there as follows:

'Oh! I am a man who has seen affliction. I am banished from my table, removed far away from friend and kinsman, and too long is the distance for me to meet them again. . . . I left my family. I forsook my house. And there with my sons and daughters, and with the sweet and dear children whom I have brought up on my knees, I left also my soul. My heart and mine eyes will dwell with them for ever. . . . But the loss of all this and of every other glory my eyes saw is compensated

there were actually two sites of equal sacredness, an impossible conclusion. The only natural inference from the parallelism just quoted is that *Ṣion* and the Temple Hill were identical' (I. 151).

for by having now the joy of being a day in thy courts, O Jerusalem, visiting the ruins of the Temple, and crying over the desolate sanctuary, where I am permitted to caress thy stones, to fondle thy dust, and to weep over thy ruins. I wept bitterly, but I found joy in my tears.' ¹

Jews at the present day pray every Sabbath: 'Have mercy upon Zion, for it is the home of our life, and save her that is grieved in spirit speedily, even in our days.' Very touching, too, is the following prayer, offered on festivals:

'But on account of our sins we were exiled from our land, and removed far from our country, and we are unable to go up in order to appear and prostrate ourselves before Thee, and to fulfil our obligations in Thy chosen house, that great and holy temple which was called by Thy name. . . . May it be Thy will, O Lord our God and God of our fathers, merciful King, that Thou mayest again in Thine abundant compassion have mercy upon us and upon Thy sanctuary, and mayest speedily rebuild it and magnify its glory. . . . Bring our scattered ones among the nations near unto Thee, and gather our dispersed from the ends of the earth. Lead us with exultation unto Zion Thy city, and unto Jerusalem the place of Thy sanctuary with everlasting joy. . . .' ²

But strong as the affection of the Jews for Jerusalem has been through all these centuries, in the time of our Lord there were reasons for even greater veneration and love, for Jerusalem was the national Metropolis in a more real sense than perhaps any other city has been to a people; because it was, in the first place, the seat of the highest Jewish tribunal, the Sanhedrin, which exercised both civil and spiritual jurisdiction over Judaea; besides this, its influence extended not only over Galilee but also over Jews throughout the world, an influence which was none the less strong for being moral rather than legal. Then, again, in Jerusalem was gathered all that was powerful in the people's eyes—powerful from every point of view: the representa-

¹ Quoted by Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 219.

² See Singer's edition of *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, pp. 149, 235.

tives of the might of Rome, the heads of the great religious parties, viz. Pharisees and Scribes, Sadducees and Chief Priests; here, too, according to tradition as well as prophecy, was to take place the inauguration of the Kingdom when the Messiah should appear to reign, most probably, as the people believed, at one of the great feasts when the nation would be gathered from all parts of the world to meet Him. But, above all, here was the Temple, with its army of Priests and Levites fulfilling their functions in offering the daily sacrifices in which was concentrated the worship of the nation. It was no wonder that to the ordinary Jew Jerusalem represented everything that was great, whether in the past, present, or future. How different was Christ's attitude! If He had a Jew's love for His country's capital, as was undoubtedly the case, it was a love mingled with despair; for He saw in Jerusalem a doomed city upon which retribution was soon to fall: *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate; and again: Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for Me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For, behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.* It is extraordinary to notice how rarely, excepting towards the end of His life, Christ has anything to do with Jerusalem. To Him the city appears mainly as a place of pilgrimage, and, with but few exceptions, this is only on the occasion of the great festivals.

'So long as Jesus is the master of His movements, we hear of little but the Sanctuary, and only of its outer courts. He does not go elsewhere within the walls except to Bethesda and to the house selected for His last Passover; He does not speak of any other place except Siloam. The Temple bulks before everything else, the wonder of all visitors to the City; its dizzy pinnacles the scene of His own Temptation—a remarkable proof of the impression which the lofty House had left

on His boyhood. Beside the Temple neither the walls nor Herod's Castle nor his Towers are noticed, but they are implied in that utterance of our Lord, on His approach round Olivet, when the whole military appearance of the place burst upon Him, and He foretold its siege and overthrow. Perhaps there are also allusions to the characteristic housetops of the town [Mark iii. 15, etc.], and to its market-places and numerous synagogues [Matt. xx. 3, xxiii. 7; John xviii. 20; *cf.* Acts vi. 9]; but these features were equally conspicuous in other towns.¹

Otherwise, on the rare occasions (previous to His final entry) on which Christ comes there, He spends almost all His time outside the walls, and, as Professor G. A. Smith points out, only in that part of the *environs* which lay opposite the Temple. There must have been some particular reason why, on the one hand, Christ should have avoided Jerusalem, and, on the other hand, that on the rare occasions of His visits there He should have spent most of His time either in the Temple or without the walls. There is, without doubt, great truth in Professor G. A. Smith's explanation of this, though there were, probably, other reasons as well: 'He knew that Jerusalem held not His throne, but the cup whereof He must drink. The chief priests were waiting for Him there. There sat the Sanhedrin and the Gentile governor into whose hands they would deliver Him to death.' One can understand His special love for the Temple when once within the walls of the city, since there, in a special way, He could 'be about His Father's business'; in a special way because of His audience there, for the Childhood scene in the Temple must certainly have been repeated in later years. Besides, as the House of Prayer, the Temple would necessarily have had a strong attraction for Christ. His predilection for the *environs* of the city and avoidance of the open places within it where people gathered together, was natural to One who loved Nature rather than the artificialities of the town; the Divine Teacher would find more to teach from in God's open country than the city could offer. As the time of the Great Tragedy draws near we find Christ coming to Jerusalem of set purpose; He

¹ G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* II. 559 sq.

comes with the consciousness of what awaits Him—insult, suffering, and death (Mark x. 32-34). Every site connected with the history of those last days must possess a mournfully profound interest for Christians. The *Upper Room* is identified, according to a very old tradition, with the present *Coenaculum* in the complex of buildings known as Neby Daûd, on the South-west Hill. An interesting passage from Epiphanius (fourth century) is quoted by Professor G. A. Smith to the effect that forty-seven years after the ruin by Titus, Hadrian, on his arrival at Jerusalem, found

'the whole city levelled . . . save a few dwellings and the little Church of God whither the disciples returned when the Saviour was taken up from Olivet, and they went up to the upper room; for it had been built there, that is in the quarter of Sion. [The church] had been left over from the destruction, and parts of the dwellings about Sion, and the seven synagogues which alone remained standing in Sion, like huts, one of which survived till the time of the bishop Maximonas and the Emperor Constantine, like a booth in the vineyard, according to the Scripture.'¹

Here the Upper Room in which the Last Supper took place is identified with the room to which the disciples returned after the Ascension (Acts i 13). Dr. Sanday, in speaking of the Upper Room, says:

'I believe that of all the most sacred sites it is the one that has the strongest evidence in its favour. . . . I do not think there is any reason to doubt that where the "upper room" is mentioned in the Gospels and Acts it is the same upper room that is meant. Nor is it, I suppose, a very precarious step to identify this upper room as in the house of Mary, the mother of Mark. . . . It seems to me that the combinations are quite legitimate, and only give unity and compactness to the history, if we suppose that the house of Mary and her son was the one central meeting-place of the Church of Jerusalem throughout the Apostolic age.'²

Professor G. A. Smith will not say more than that it is not impossible that this may be correct.

The site of *Gethsemane* can be approximately fixed: the

¹ G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* II. 569.

² *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, pp. 77, 83 sq., where further evidence is given in support of this.

traditional site is in the Cedron ravine, about equally distant from the Golden Gate and the Gate of St. Stephen ; it is reached by passing through the latter gate and crossing the Cedron bridge ; the plot lies just beyond this. It is marked by eight very ancient olive-trees, which, according to tradition, have stood there since the time of Christ. But this can hardly be the case, for Josephus—and there is no reason for doubting his testimony here—tells us that at the siege Titus had all the trees on this side of the city cut down.¹ The traditional site cannot, however, be far wrong. In St. John xviii. 1 we read of Christ going with His disciples *over the brook Cedron, where was a garden* ; probably what is now known as the ‘Grotto of Agony,’ close to the traditional site (now in the possession of the Franciscans), marks the spot where Gethsemane, or the ‘oil-press,’ lay. This Grotto is reached by a passage from the fore-court of the Church of the Virgin’s Tomb ; a church has certainly stood here from very early days, for Jerome describes the site as ‘at the roots of Olivet with a church built over it’ ; and what the Bordeaux Pilgrim and Eusebius say about the present site is in favour of its being the true one. Professor G. A. Smith remarks that ‘wherever it was—and the slopes have suffered much these nineteen centuries—any of the olive-groves on the Mount which have not been dressed as the Franciscan garden has, will give the pilgrim a more natural impression of the scene of our Lord’s agony than the latter can.’

The *House of the High-priest* lay, according to Josephus,² on the South-west Hill ; this, at all events, was where the house of a later high-priest, Ananias, was situated, and there is no reason to suppose that the official residence had been changed in the meantime. The meeting of the Sanhedrin here, as recorded in the Gospels, was irregular ; the usual place of meeting being in the council-chamber in the Temple ; this was probably one of the chambers that stood on either side of the Priests’ Court, the *Lishkath parhedrin* (‘hall of the assessors’) in which the members of the Sanhedrin met in a quasi-private character before

¹ *Bell. Jud.* VI. i. 1.

² *Ibid.* II. xvi. 6.

they met officially in the *Lishkath hag-gazith* ('hall of hewn stone'); but the irregular character of this meeting is to be explained by the fact that the Temple gates would have been closed at the time, for the hour at which the meeting was held—namely, at midnight—was also most unusual. If it was a formal meeting—as it certainly must have been—the uncanonical hour would be explained by the desire to complete the punishment in the case before the Sabbath; for, according to the Mishna,¹ 'there were no courts or judgements on the evening before the Sabbath or a feast day.' What made a full and formal meeting of the Sanhedrin indispensable was the fact that a false prophet—and this was what the authorities charged Christ with being—could only, according to the Mishna, be judged at Jerusalem and by the full Sanhedrin²; 'Jesus could not,' says Colonel Conder,³ 'according to law, be condemned as a blasphemer⁴, for that crime was defined as being the utterance of the name Jehovah. Yet the fact that the Sanhedrin *rent their clothes* shows that He was condemned unjustly on this accusation also.'

The *Praetorium* in Jerusalem was the Government House. The name *Praetorium*, originally the praetor's (or general's) quarters in a Roman camp, was also applied to the official residence of the governor of a province.⁵ The *Praetorium* of Herod in Caesarea was the palace which Herod built there, and which was used by the procurator as his residence. But the name was also given to those residences which either the governor or other officials occupied when on tour through the province. The *Praetorium* in Jerusalem was therefore the Government House; in front of it stood the procurator's tribunal, and it contained a detachment of soldiers.⁶ As to the exact site of the *Praetorium*, two spots are advocated by different authorities: either the Castle Antonia, because tradition places the House of Pilate

¹ *Sanhedrin*, iv. 1, quoted by Professor G. A. Smith.

² *Ibid.* i. 5; v. 2; x. 4, referred to by Conder.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 148.

⁴ *Sanh.* vii. 5.

⁵ *Cf.* Acts xxiii. 35.

⁶ Mark xv. 16; Matt. xxvii. 27.

near it, and in it was quartered the larger part of the Roman garrison, while the Pavement is identified with the space between the Castle and the Temple; or else Herod's Palace on the West Hill. Professor G. A. Smith has little hesitation in deciding for this latter. 'It was in the Palace of Herod, says Philo,¹ that Pilate hung up the golden shields which brought him into trouble with the Jews'; and Josephus tells us² that 'it was in the Palace that Florus, the Procurator, took up his quarters, and having placed his tribunal in front of it, held his sessions, and the chief priests, influential persons, and notables of the city appeared before the tribunal. Provoked by their arguments, he shouted to the soldiers to plunder the Upper Market and to slay those they fell in with. . . . Later he tried to force his way to the Antonia with such soldiers as were with him out of the Royal Aulē, but they had to fall back on the camp, which was at the Palace.' Professor G. A. Smith gives further proofs that the Roman garrison of Jerusalem was quartered in the Palace; so that the Antonia with its guard-room can be left aside, as everything points to the vicinity of Herod's Palace as the scene of our Lord's trial: cf. St. Mark xv. 16, *And the soldiers led Him away into the hall, called Praetorium.*³ Pilate's tribunal was set upon the 'Pavement,' an elevated space in front of the Palace; the Hebrew *Gabbatha* means either 'tessellated pavement,' or 'elevated platform.' The site is now occupied by the Turkish citadel.

The sites of *Calvary* and of the *Holy Sepulchre* cannot be fixed with any approach to certainty: this seems to be the conviction of most of those who are entitled to form an opinion. Thus Colonel Conder says that as regards Calvary we have 'only probabilities to consider'; while as to the site of the Holy Sepulchre he pointedly remarks that 'we must still say of our Lord as was said of Moses, "No man knoweth

¹ *Leg. ad Caium*, 31.

² *Bell. Jud.* II. xiv. 8.

³ Colonel Conder, on what seem to be insufficient grounds, regards the Praetorium as having been in the Citadel of Antonia (*op. cit.* p. 147).

of his sepulchre unto this day." In the same way Professor G. A. Smith says that 'no part of the topographical tradition of the City is more difficult than that which deals with the *data* of the Gospels. The textual uncertainties are many. The most sacred sites of all, Calvary and the Sepulchre, lie in that part of the City where the destruction by Titus was complete, and continuous excavation has been least possible.'

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

ART. V.—PORT ROYAL AND PREACHING.

1. *Mémoires de St. Cyran*. Par C. LANCELOT. Two Volumes. (Cologne. 1738.)
2. *Histoire de Port Royal*. Par C. A. SAINTE-BEUVE. New Edition. Seven Volumes. (Paris. 1901.)
3. *Entretiens de la Mère Angélique*. One Volume. (Brussels. 1757.)
4. *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Port Royal et à la vie de la Rév. Mère Angélique*. Three Volumes. (Utrecht. 1742.)
5. *Lettres de la Mère Angélique*. Three Volumes. (Utrecht. 1742.)
6. *Mémoires de Pierre Thomas du Fossé*. Four Volumes. (Rouen. 1879.)
7. *Histoire de la Vie de N. S. J. C.* Par N. LE TOURNEUX. One Volume. (Paris. 1717.)
8. *De la Meilleure Manière d'entendre la Sainte Messe*. Par N. LE TOURNEUX. One Volume. (Paris, 1717.)
9. *Bossuet Orateur*. Par E. GANDAR. One Volume. (Paris. 1868.)
10. *The Story of Port Royal*. By ETHEL ROMANES. (London: John Murray. 1907.)

And other Works.

PORT ROYAL was not only *une élite immortelle d'honnêtes gens et de bons écrivains*, but it was a movement, like Tractarianism in nineteenth-century England, to recall antiquity, revive the Fathers, make ancient days of faith live again,

proclaim the power of Divine Grace working in the Church. Port Royal strove for these ends by giving Christian education, by circulating religious books suited to various classes of readers, by translating Scripture and the Fathers, by setting an ascetic ideal of life and a lofty standard for the sacred Ministry. Sermons also had their part. The purpose of this article is to put together all that the writer has found in Port Royal literature concerning preaching and preachers. Much has changed since the days of seventeenth-century France, yet perhaps sacred topics and the hearts of listeners will still be found sufficiently the same to give interest to these memoranda.

The first dawn of spiritual life at Port Royal was through a sermon. When the Mère Angélique (to call Jacqueline Arnauld by her later title) was brought there as a child in 1602 to be abbess in that ancient Cistercian house over thirteen nuns who were leading a peaceful, easy life, no preaching had been heard for thirty years, except on the rare occasion of a sister's profession. For a few years things went on as in the past—a life, if free from serious scandals, yet quite without purpose or seriousness; but it so happened that a Capucin monk came to preach in the Lent of 1608. Of his sermon we know nothing, but he brought with him and left behind for the sisters a book of simple religious meditations. This fell into the hands of the young abbess. She was only sixteen, in poor health and spirits, deeply dissatisfied with the enforced burden of her vows, which she longed to shake off. She with her sister Jeanne (afterwards the Mère Agnès) had been pushed into 'religion' in childhood, and obliged to continue in it, by her father M. Arnauld's craft and worldly policy. He saw in the *métier* of abbess only a decent preferment for his daughter; he had obtained the nomination by the king's favour and the Bulls from Rome by falsifying her age. The young abbess found comfort in this simple book, and still more in the sermon of another Capucin, Père Basile, who came to the monastery late one afternoon and offered to preach. The abbess at first thought it too late, but afterwards agreed: that evening

the Community attended his sermon. It would seem that the preacher spoke of the abasement of the Son of God in His human Birth and Infancy: however, the abbess herself could not in after years give an exact account of the sermon; but so it was, while listening she felt God speak to her heart and point out to her the happiness of the 'religious' life, so that she esteemed it now as much as she had abhorred it before—she felt there was nothing that she was not ready to do for God. This occasion she always felt to be the dawn of grace in her heart. It was not any grace in the Père Basile himself, for he proved afterwards to be quite unworthy; nor did the abbess consult him in private, but sent him a message of thanks for his sermon.

After this experience of grace the Mère Angélique felt a great desire to lead an ascetic life and make her religious profession a reality, though she foresaw the struggle that she would have in making reforms, both with her superiors and with her own family. On All Saints' Day, 1608, a Bernardine monk (called, from his abbey, M. de Vauclair) came to preach. M. Arnauld, the father, hearing of the Capucins and their disturbing sermons, had forbidden them to come near the place. This preacher took for his text: 'Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake'; his words encouraged Mère Angélique in her difficult path, and the preacher, when she came to speak with him, confirmed the impression. So she invited all the Community to give up each their own private property and thus make their vow of poverty a reality—this was the first step in reform. Soon after, on September 25, 1609 (known in Port Royal annals as the *journée du guichet*), she summoned courage to make the monastic enclosure a reality by shutting out her family when they came to visit her, leaving them outside the *grille*—an agonizing day for all! Mme. Arnauld, in her first vexation, vowed that she would never go to see her daughter again, and though her anger was soon appeased, she felt bound by her rash vow. However, about a year after, on August 4, 1610, in the Jacobin Church at Paris she heard a preacher

explain that rash and hasty promises ought to be broken, not kept ; so she was glad to hurry off at once to Port Royal and see her daughter, who always kept the 4th of August in remembrance of this reconciliation. This is the same Madame Arnauld who in her widowhood, twenty years after, was moved by a sermon she heard at Port Royal to enter the noviciate herself and become a subject of her daughter's abbatial rule. She became blind not long after her profession, but preserved always great simplicity, quietness of mind, reverent humility. She died at the age of sixty-eight, after twelve years of profession, during the time of M. de St. Cyran's imprisonment. When he heard of her death he said of her : ' A soul indeed solid and built on the rock.' Meanwhile (Mère Angélique says) ' the house continued in the right way, possessing great peace and great poverty.' Spiritual guides were much lacking, for she could not endure monastic confessors. Two things dear to her heart she got done by royal and papal favour : one, to get rid of her dignity and make the abbacy elective every three years (four times over she was herself elected to it, quite against her own will) ; and the other, to get rid of monastic superiors and become subject to the Archbishop of Paris as ordinary.

What preachers do we find at Port Royal in its early days of fervour ? The Père Suffren, a Jesuit, used to come. One day he preached on the Gospel of the Labourers in the Vineyard, teaching from St. Paul's words—' the grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain,' and ' not I, but the grace of God that was with me,' that God's grace is necessary for every good action. Another day when he came to Port Royal and asked to see the sister Anne-Eugénie Arnauld, then a novice (she came next in the family to the Mère Angélique and Mère Agnès, and had joined them there : in the world she had been reckoned fashionable and charming), she was in the kitchen, and came out to meet him in her cooking dress, with a black apron, a knife hanging at her girdle, and her hands red with scouring pots. He merely said : ' Mademoiselle, I have never seen you so well dressed.'

Another favourite preacher in early days was the Père Archange (a Herbert by birth, of the noble house of Pembroke). Amongst other wise counsels he recommended the abbess never to allow conversations between the sisters and the monks who came to preach, 'even though they had preached like angels.'

What a feast for Mère Angélique, then at Maubuisson (a convent near Pontoise, to which she had been sent by the general of the Cistercian order to reform it, under great difficulties), when St. Francis de Sales preached there and gave Confirmation, April 5, 1619. He came twice or thrice, once for a whole week. Also he went to Port Royal to see the Mère Agnès, who had been left there as coadjutrix. He was welcomed by all the Arnauld family and saw something of each. He bade Mère Angélique moderate her natural activity of mind: '*O ma fille, ne croyez pas que l'œuvre puisse être sitôt faite.*'

M. Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbé de St. Cyran, the great inspirer of Port Royal, began to correspond with Mère Angélique about 1623. He preached 'beautifully' there on the Festival of the Ascension in 1625. He used to visit and preach occasionally up till 1633, when he undertook the direction of the Community at the earnest entreaty of the Mère Geneviève, who was then abbess. His authority lasted for five brief but fruitful years, up to his imprisonment in Vincennes by order of Cardinal Richelieu in May 1638. At his advice the sisters (who were then inhabiting Port Royal de Paris, built for them in the Fauxbourg St. Jacques, their house at Les Champs lying deserted for about twenty years) began to observe the Rule of St. Benedict in its original strictness: to say Mattins at 2 a.m. (instead of in the evening); to give up 'Recreation' twice a day, in which jesting and ridicule of one another had been practised, and to restore in its stead daily 'Conference,' where conversation had a more serious and improving character. M. de St. Cyran guided the sisterhood (says Sister Anne-Eugénie Arnauld, an excellent authority) on these principles: he would keep them separate from the world, avoiding all unnecessary

intercourse with those without ; he would have those in authority excuse every fault that could be excused, never reproofing at once, but waiting till the fault had been thrice committed, and then saying but one word ; he would have each sister repress curiosity and attend to her own charge. Above all, the Divine Office should be performed with great reverence and recollection : it is best not to be too prompt to correct discordances or mistakes in the service which, if left to themselves, will mostly be put right. In prayer these three things should be aimed at : trust in God, peace of mind, oblivion of past faults. Above all, covetousness should be avoided, which is the crying sin of too many religious houses. The sisters should be ready and willing to do all things that need to be done, never thinking the humblest job too mean. When Sister Anne-Eugénie told M. de St. Cyran that her work was to look after the children, he said : ' That is a favourable employment, for, if you forgive their faults, God will forgive yours ; if you shew them mercy, God will be merciful to you.' This point of view as to her duties surprised her much. ' With children ' (he added) ' the essentials are to exhort little, to put up with much, and above all to pray for them.'

Of M. de St. Cyran's set sermons we find little trace, but he used, just before his imprisonment in 1638, to expound Holy Scripture to a small company of disciples who shared his prayers and studies. These expositions were so edifying, so full of Divine unction, especially when he was explaining the Holy Gospels, that his hearers had never heard the like. His addresses were not written, but spoken from the fulness of his heart. On the Feast of St. Paul's Conversion, Lancelot (the memoir-writer) was present at one of these, when the speaker seemed, like the Apostle, ' caught up into the third heaven,' able, too, to take his hearers up with him. On Easter Day in his address M. de St. Cyran said that the Blessed Virgin did not need to receive the first visit of her Risen Son, because her faith and firmness were independent of this exterior consolation. On Ascension Day (the day before

he was arrested and conveyed to the dungeons of Vincennes) he gave as many as three addresses, after the pattern of the Son of God, who, seeing His hour approaching, spoke to His disciples at greater length and revealed to them higher mysteries. Then came his imprisonment of almost five years and stopped his mouth, though he managed to carry on by stealth an apostolate of letter-writing. Nor during the seven or eight months that he was free before his death (October 9, 1643) was he able to speak in public.

As to his own theory of preaching, we find him saying :

‘Preaching is a greater mystery than the Eucharist, for there souls are not only nourished, but new-born or raised to life. If I had occasion to preach, I should present myself before God and ask Him to give me some thoughts on the subject that I wished to speak of—having found the thoughts, I should set them down, pray over them from time to time, and finally utter them in all simplicity. After my sermon I should retire to my room and kneel before God, and should avoid any conversation about my sermon, its success or failure, leaving all with God and letting others think what they like.’

He said to M. Singlin :

‘If you have to preach this coming Advent, pray first and then utter what God puts into your heart, by way of exposition rather than of formal oratory. Twice a week will do, and speak only for a quarter of an hour each time. Meanwhile nourish yourself with Catholic truths and books so as not to say anything but what God and the Church have taught you.’

He used to say that he had been shocked in his young days at a sermon preached by Père Cotton before Henry IV, in which the preacher said of that monarch (who was living in open adultery) that he rejoiced to see in him so many marks of God’s eternal predestination to life.

Lancelot, in describing St. Cyran, apologizes for representing him to perhaps indifferent or hostile readers too exactly as he was: ‘After all, there are things which should be spoken of just as they are, and which lose their grace and force if they are disguised.’ St. Cyran had often spoken to him about education, and finally employed him

in that task, for which (he said) 'great patience, great discretion, constant attention are required.' He used to say that good education is the one thing needful, for all else depends on that; parents will be judged especially on that point of their duty. He used to mention the example of the Son of God inviting children to approach, taking them in His arms and saying lofty things about their privileges. Good example, he insisted, is the foundation of all good education. Occasionally, when they were together, if no subject of conversation presented itself he would open a Bible and read a chapter to Lancelot. His constant maxim was never to abandon a good work once begun. He practised continual recollection, a spirit of constant looking for God's guidance; yet he preferred that we should go by the ordinary way of the Gospel, not seeking for visions, marvels, or extraordinary practices. He said that the High Priest's privilege of finding sensible guidance in the 'Urim' was not comparable to the illumination of Christians whom God teaches by His Spirit, for the soul that is faithful to God will not fail to find Him faithful too.

'Prayer should be made at stated times, yet without any strain of mind: it is a good kind of prayer just to expose our needs and frailties to God and ask Him to look on us, and it is often well to use some book such as the Gospels or the Psalms to assist our thoughts. The best prayer of all is the Canonical Office of the Church. It is an excellent practice [here he agrees with William Law] not only to say but to sing Psalms in commemoration of special mercies. Though all Scripture is to be honoured, yet the Holy Gospels are better than the rest, even than the incomparable St. Paul. The best way of reading Scripture is to read it very simply, applying to oneself the truths one finds there. God makes three sorts of provision for our soul, viz. Christ's Body in the Eucharist, Christ's words in the Gospels, the Holy Spirit that comes to dwell in faithful hearts.'

Of St. Cyran himself Lancelot says:

'He was liberal to the poor, good to his servants, generous to the subjects of his abbey; he shewed tenderness to children,

treated even the humblest persons with courtesy. It was easy to accost him, his manner was grave but kind, his conversation all full of charity, he behaved at Mass with inexpressible reverence and devotion.'

Of Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, St. Cyran's friend and fellow-worker, who from his grave stirred the world, we find one very characteristic sermon : its subject is 'The Reformation of the Inner Man'; it was preached at the establishment of reform in a Benedictine monastery. He begins (according to his well-known system) with magnificent praises of man's original righteousness, its clear knowledge, untroubled joy and peace. 'But, alas, man fell away from God, desiring to be his own master.' Then the preacher speaks of utter ruin caused by the Fall which involved man in darkness, in pride, in liability to sensual desire. He examines the threefold temptation which besets even the regenerate—'Threefold, therefore our King who came to cure us was Himself thrice tempted—we have to resist the flesh which is the most shameful of our foes; curiosity which is never at rest; pride, that fierce beast of prey, whose assault is the hardest to overcome.' The preacher does not wish to take away hope, but to shew the danger of pride and over-security :

'God's wont is to astonish His elect by difficulties, to chasten them by allowing them to fall, and thus make them understand that victory belongs to Him only; thus they are no longer proud. In His deep wisdom God has ordained that the life of the righteous themselves should be full of trials; exposed to so many errors, surrounded by so many snares, tossed on so many perils, racked by so many pains, such as no human prudence can foresee, no human skill or strength surmount. Who would not praise the grandeur of God's wisdom that makes all things work for our good? Who would not trust life and death and eternity to that Divine Mercy which so carefully watches over our salvation? Do not distrust God's Love; cure yourself of pride, so will you be able to overcome all temptations. You will find by experience that it is "God that worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure." You must love something; if it is love to God that burns in your heart, it will like fire consume all hindrances, it will enable you to prevail over all difficulties.

There is no power so great as love for God, by which the soul shakes off the darkness of created things and rises towards the pure and calm light of eternal truth.'

In M. Singlin, Port Royal preaching first had access to the public ear. Antoine Singlin was born in 1607, the son of a wine merchant, apprenticed to business, then put under the care of Vincent de Paul, who destined him for the priesthood and had him taught Latin. After his ordination he became Chaplain of the Hospital de la Pitié, of which his mother was the matron. Here he became acquainted with St. Cyran, who consented to his leaving the hospital, because the chaplain there was so trammelled by the Administrators that he could do little good. He was set first to educate some children, then to pass the summer of 1637 in retirement at Port Royal des Champs. He had left off for a while saying Mass, under a feeling of his own unworthiness, but resumed it on August 10 (St. Laurence's Day) in that year. During St. Cyran's imprisonment he had (most unwillingly) to act as director and confessor, nor did the former on his release from Vincennes in 1643 release him from these unwilling duties, in spite of his entreaties and profession of his own frailties. One day when he had been asked to preach at Port Royal de Paris, and had prepared carefully, a bishop happened to come to the chapel and the Mother asked him to preach instead. M. Singlin confessed with shame that he had felt vexed—still, he was not allowed to quit his post. On St. Cyran's death he was obliged definitely to take his vacant place. He had learned from St. Cyran two main principles: first, to decide all questions, even the clearest and most pressing, with a certain deliberation, taking time to consider; and secondly, a decision once come to, never to hesitate or look behind, but go forward with unflinching resolution. He taught at Port Royal for twenty-five years, but his ministrations to a general congregation fall mostly between the years 1647 and 1654. He was not a great orator, but an excellent preacher. The learning that he lacked was supplied him by M. Arnauld or M. de Sacy: their sketch or argument of a sermon he learned by heart

and reproduced, but he delivered it with a fervour that was all his own. He had the gift of so speaking that each one of the congregation believed the sermon was meant specially for himself. The six printed volumes of his 'Instructions' give no adequate notion of his power.

In 1647 and the few following years M. Singlin used to collect great audiences at Port Royal de Paris. Young Pierre Thomas du Fossé, as a boy of twelve or thirteen, was taken with the other scholars to Sunday Vespers and sermon. Though so young at the time he declares that he felt a certain inward compunction—indeed it was hard to escape being touched when, as one of the lads said, the preacher plunged truths deep into the hearer's heart. Still, the boys sometimes forgot all about the sermon as soon as they left the church, for there was often on Sundays and Festivals a pitched battle going on outside between scholars and working lads of the Fauxbourg St. Germain and those of the Fauxbourg St. Marceau; stones flew freely, clubs were used. Often on coming out of church young Du Fossé found himself enveloped in one of these faction fights; he confesses that it was a fearful joy to him, though dangerous, but it quite effaced his memory of the sermon. Still worse happened another day. Leaving the church on Epiphany Eve, 1648, the boys found a regular riot in the streets: barricades were being raised, foot passengers stopped and searched. This was an anticipation of the civil war called the 'Fronde,' soon to begin. The boys were stopped and threatened more than once, but finally allowed to pass one barricade and then a second; at last, after various usage, they reached their dwelling and kept indoors for some days.

Another preacher in whom Port Royal delighted was Père Desmares of the Oratory. He was small in stature and of mean appearance, but in the pulpit he spoke with the boldness of an ancient prophet, telling truth to high and low; he was eloquent by nature, and his voice and gestures were in perfect accord with the truth that he was preaching. He was very familiar with St. Augustine, and used to recite whole pages by heart, not like a lesson learnt, but as the

expression of his own deepest convictions. In 1648 he was suspended and not allowed to preach again for twenty years. Young Du Fossé and a friend were one day taken, for a change, to hear a Jesuit Father at the Convent of the Visitation at Chaillot (lately founded by Queen Henrietta Maria). The boys liked the sermon.

Many notes about M. Singlin's sermons are to be found in the Mère Angélique's letters. In June 1647 :

'Many come [to the temporary chapel of Port Royal] to hear him during the octave of the B. Sacrament. He has preached good sermons which have touched many during the forty days' retreat which we made to prepare for receiving the habit of the Holy Sacrament [which implied special dedication to that mystery]. His instructions on that subject were admirable.'

In February 1648 :

'It is bad news that the Queen Regent has stopped P. Desmares from preaching, though the Archbishop used often to assist at his sermons and found no fault with them. On the Purification he preached so admirably that his enemies could not bear it and have silenced him. M. Singlin who never preaches in parish churches has escaped for this reason.'

In the spring of 1648 : 'M. Singlin's sermons which were always solid have now become eloquent, to satisfy the weakness of the age.' When the new church of Port Royal de Paris was opened (June 1648) he filled it at once, and 'some one was converted every time.' His Advent sermons this year were 'marvellously crowded.' On August 28, 1649, St. Augustine's Day, his sermon contained three points : what St. Augustine taught about penitence, about grace, about vocation to Holy Orders. The audience, including five Bishops, the Archbishop's own brother, many Doctors, a Marshal and a Duke, were well contented with the sermon and said that no one could speak with more wisdom and moderation, but the Archbishop, on hearsay, inhibited the preacher. Explanations passed, and the prelate rehabilitated him and came in person to assist at his first sermon after withdrawal of the suspension,

New Year's Day, 1650. But this interdiction while it lasted was a great trouble to Mère Angélique, though M. Singlin himself was delighted to be silent. In November 1650, in a sermon he quoted St. Augustine as asking, 'What is a Christian?' and as replying, 'He who does not despise the narrow road of the Gospel.' In that same year Mlle. Jacqueline Pascal (a good judge) remarks: 'To-day we had an admirable sermon from M. Singlin.' In July 1651 he 'preached an admirable sermon on St. Mary Magdalen's Day to the delight of M. de Bernières who happened to be there.' In the bitter winter of 1651-52 M. Singlin 'has so bad a cold he has hard work to speak,' yet 'the strangers [who had been received into the house for refuge during the civil war] hear his sermons with delight.' The sisters being scattered in different places on account of danger threatened to the Fauxbourg, he visits each party and repeats his sermons—indeed 'the terrible scenes of distress around seem to inspire him to speak.' After a journey into Normandy he is home again, December 1652, preaching at a sister's profession; in January 1653 he is 'so overwhelmed with business that he has not a moment to himself'; in June 1653 'such crowds attend that the half have to go away.' It was on December 8, 1654, that Pascal heard M. Singlin preach, with momentous results. By January 1656, Port Royal is in trouble, M. Singlin ill also, and they cannot hear him preach, but they console themselves with the thought that 'there is no virtue becoming a Christian or a religious in which he has not instructed us.'

Reading the *Entretiens* of Mère Angélique, which belong to her latest years (1652-59) and were set down without her knowledge by her clever niece, the Mère Angélique de St. Jean, we find that the daily 'Conference' of the sisters often turned on the sermons that they had heard; sometimes the Epistle or Gospel for the day was discussed, and Mère Angélique would draw some plain lesson from it. So the Scripture Lessons, or seasons of the Church, or life of some saint offered her opportunity of making a practical application. One day a sermon came

under notice upon the text, 'the little foxes that spoil the grapes' (Cant. ii. 25); another day a sermon upon Eph. i. 4: 'God hath chosen us to be holy and without blame before Him in love.' On All Saints' Day the preacher had been saying that we should perform all our actions in a spirit of faith. On All Souls' Day M. Feydeau had been preaching on God's Holiness; this last sermon particularly pleased Mère Angélique. The preacher had said that to keep the Law of God without love was not to keep it at all; and the Mère, approving this, added that we must love God's Law in small things as well as in great. She quoted: 'Lord, I have loved Thy Law,' and 'Teach me to run the way of Thy commandments.' She mentioned also a sermon of M. Singlin where he had said that we must be in earnest, for we have to do with an enemy whom we must overcome or perish. On this sermon of M. Feydeau (but catechizing was his specialty—he excelled in this) much discussion arose among the sisters.

Might not one say, though her humility would have been shocked to hear it, that Mère Angélique herself was an excellent preacher? One of her gifts was to speak forcibly and convincingly to all sorts of persons. Even to the great she spoke with extreme freedom, only with so much tact and discretion as not to offend them. She taught that the true essence of the religious life consists not in outward mortification but in continual sacrifice to God of our own self-will. What she said never discouraged her hearers, in spite of the high standard she took, for her words were so full of charity that they felt it was God who spoke by her. When she found hearts cast down she had extreme power to fortify and console. When speaking of the mysteries of salvation it was plain that her heart was kindled by what Christ had done, as when on Maundy Thursday she bade the Community think much on His words: 'With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you.' She spoke with awe, yet without affright, of death and judgement; her words were all of fire when she was shewing that the great confidence we have in ourselves hinders our confidence in God, or that

afflictions are more needful for our souls than daily food for our bodies. Her explanations of the Bible at 'Conference' were always profitable as well as instructive. However, she could not endure that any record of her words should be kept: finding one day that a sister was writing down what she had said, she burnt the notes and well scolded the sister, saying that the words of the Holy Gospel were quite reading enough for anyone's conversion or edification. In her last illness we find her saying little and avoiding any action that might be noticed, but she thought much of God's Holiness and her own unworthiness, frequently asking her friends to tell her what might sustain her confidence in God, bidding them pray that God would forgive her sins. When M. Singlin (who had been dismissed by royal authority) came secretly to see her for the last time, she said: 'My Father, this is the last time I shall see you, but I promise that I will not be afraid again.' After this she was more at peace, and when reminded of her promise would say: 'True, God's mercy is everlasting; I will hope in Him.' When the Community came to her deathbed for the last time, they asked her for some instruction at a time when they were deprived of all, but she said:

'We have instructions enough if we would use those we have received. No one can steal this treasure from us, if we keep it hidden in our heart. St. Elizabeth said on this day [July 2], "Whence is this to me?" in admiration that the Lord's Mother had come once to visit her, and ought we not to be contented when Christ Himself has visited us so often, with so many teachings and comforts?'

It was on this occasion she said: 'Death is a grave matter; we should prepare for it by repenting of our lesser faults. Many faults are very visible at that hour which in health we never thought of.'

The Sister Anne-Eugénie had from childhood a love for sermons. Her mother, Mme. Arnauld, used to take her to sermons, and she would write down the substance from memory (and recollected it thirty years after). She used to say that it was the Gospel for St. Denis' Day (Matt.

xi. 25-30, according to the use of Cîteaux) that first spoke to her heart and made her a new creature. The 'Life of St. Theresa' also delighted her. While she was at Maubuisson with her sister, the confessor, a certain Dom Louis, sent for her to try and prove to her that an abbess had no gift to instruct her nuns, but should leave all that to the confessor. Sister Anne-Eugénie answered, quoting texts of Scripture to the purpose, that God can give gifts of illumination and instruction to women also, if it so please Him. She had a wonderful memory for anyone's good actions and good words; above all, she had extreme devotion and gratitude towards our Lord Jesus Christ, and was always chosen to read in the Refectory the Passion Lessons during Holy Week, because she read them in a manner so devout and touching. She was a person of extreme gentleness and goodness, and always the same; to see her one day was to see her all days. When in charge of scholars at Port Royal

'She spoke [says a former scholar] so forcibly about the Baptismal covenant and its obligations that I never forgot it. When she had to explain some Gospel text, she prepared us to listen and said it several times, a few words at a time. Talking to a girl after her first communion she said that she always taught those who made their first communion a terrible text, that verse about the seven evil spirits coming back worse than before into the vacant heart.'

When she was on her deathbed many sisters asked her counsel about their souls; she always welcomed them cordially, even in the midst of her greatest infirmities, and answered them with sincerity and clearness, generally pausing awhile before she gave an answer. On her deathbed it was a great trouble to her that she could not keep awake even for so important an action, but her sister, the Mère Angélique, comforted her, saying that our Lord Jesus Christ would take care of her soul when she could not attend to it herself.

The spring of 1661 was a gloomy time for Port Royal. The *éclat* of the two saving marvels of 1656, the miracle of the Holy Thorn and (in another order) the marvel of

the 'Provinciales,' had now become dim. Constraint by royal authority waxed harsher. Cardinal Mazarin (in pursuance of his constant maxim, never thoroughly to crush a defeated cause) had declined to push Port Royal to extremity, but he was dead (March 1661). The school-boys of the *Petites Écoles* had all been finally dispersed. In that year Mère Angélique was dying, Pascal not far from his end, confessors and solitaries were exiled, school-girls sent home—with all these troubles either come or impending, we yet find that our friends took great pleasure in a Lent course of that year. It so happened that the greatest of all preachers was preaching close by in the chapel of the Carmelite nuns in the Rue St. Jacques.¹ Bossuet is here in his favourite pulpit (often occupied by him during thirty years) and at the full height of his splendid eloquence. M. Gandar in his charming book, *Bossuet orateur*, has established the order and material of this course of sermons, the *Carême des Carmélites*. These sermons were applauded by all sorts of hearers from the Queen-Mother downwards, and are indeed of inimitable majesty. 'Amongst other hearers' (says Le Dieu) 'this course was closely followed by MM. de Port Royal, stationed at every corner of the auditory and readiest of all to stir up applause.' No doubt this particularity came to Le Dieu from Bossuet himself (whose secretary he was in far later years): it would seem that the preacher had taken particular notice of the applause of the Port Royalists—but who were they? Only the name of De la Lane is mentioned: some of the notable Port Royalists hardly dared to shew themselves abroad in those dangerous days; it is possible that Pascal may have been in the congregation—we know that in his decaying health he yet frequented churches and services when he was fit for nothing else. M. Gandar loves to think that Pascal was there; if he was, the sermons must have been much to his mind—to hear

¹ The later fortunes of this church are noticed by M. Pisani, *L'Église de Paris et la Révolution*. It was sold under the Terror, but bought back by the Carmelites after the Revolution and used by them till 1906; it has now been partially demolished.

such a preacher on topics such as penitence, the necessity of suffering, the Word of God, the hatred of man for Truth, the Lord's Passion and Resurrection, must have been amongst the latest joys of his suffering life. These sermons are (says M. Gandar) thrown very rapidly on paper ; sometimes the sentences are unfinished—no doubt in the actual delivery they were completed or modified with the orator's unfailing facility—but even as they are they give Bossuet at his very best. We may summarize a few sentences from this course which must have delighted his Port Royal listeners :

‘ On the Word of God: do not think that preachers ascend the pulpit to make a fine discourse, or that hearers come to be diverted—far from it. The preacher celebrates a mystery not unlike the Holy Eucharist. As truly as Christ's Body is in the Sacrament, so is His Truth in the preaching of the Gospel. In the Eucharist you see but a sign beneath which is concealed Christ's own Body: so in holy teachings the words are but signs, but the thought that produces the words and the lesson that the words leave in your heart is Christ's own doctrine. Assist at preaching as you would approach the Holy Table, fearing to let drop one crumb of sacred truth: shew by your life that you have been taught and nourished in Christ's school. For here is another parallel between the Eucharist and the Word of God: the spiritual food of sacred truth judges those whom it does not convert, it condemns those who discern it not.’

Speaking of the respect due to Truth, the preacher blames false subtleties and dangerous accommodations. He sends doubtful consciences to two excellent doctors who know well how to settle points of duty: one is simplicity, the other is good faith. Few are the questions which those two wise guides are not able to resolve.

In the Palm Sunday sermon on the Passion he takes for his text: ‘ Let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus.’ He regards Calvary with its three crosses as the school of patience. Christ Himself suffers there with patience, crowns him who suffers patiently, condemns the opposite. Christ suffering is a living law and animated rule for the believer. He teaches there that the way of the Cross is the only way of salvation.

In the Good Friday sermon on the Passion Christ's Cross is regarded as an open book, wherein is written all the economy of salvation, wherein is to be found an infallible standard of judgement and of action. Here a Christian learns to despise this world's good things and the deceiving promises of earthly honour; here he learns that there is nothing more precious than the human soul made in God's image and redeemed by Christ's Blood.

Scattered throughout this course of sermons are admirable thoughts on such subjects as the Lord's Transfiguration, His Death, His Victory; on a preacher's duty; on the claims of Truth; on the mystery of suffering; on true conversion; also, a wonderful choice of Scripture texts and histories—in short, all means, all illustrations, all arguments that a Christian preacher can use to teach, to interest, to influence. Like Port Royal, Bossuet drew his material from Scripture and the Fathers; he delighted especially in the Psalms and the Gospels; St. Paul and St. Augustine were his chosen interpreters of Truth. But Bossuet differed from Port Royal on one important point: when the Church had pronounced Jansenius to be a heretic, he thought that there was no more to be said and that submission was a prime duty, whereas Port Royal could not bear to allow that a holy bishop who was a great teacher of grace and life-long friend of their dear St. Cyran had erred concerning the faith. This was one great difference. Bossuet blamed their refusal to submit and sign: he thought that they broke the majestic uniformity of the Church; in his last days he condemned the luckless *cas de conscience* which made a silence of respect without consent suffice. In other points his sympathy with the principles and objects of Port Royal was real; he had both friendships and dislikes in common with them. It is true that in an early sermon he had blamed 'rigid Doctors who make virtue burdensome, the Gospel unreasonable, Christianity impossible'; but his blame in later days was all for the other extreme.

In the midst of the persecution (June 28, 1665), four years after the above course of sermons, Bossuet was taken

to Port Royal by the Archbishop; he came with the intention of calming and persuading to obedience, but made no general exhortation. He visited in another convent the Mère Agnès and a sister imprisoned with her; he was full of sympathy and advice. When peaceful days returned Bossuet joined in consultation with Port Royal how to improve the translation of the New Testament or the *Réflexions Morales* of Quesnel. When he appears in the history of Port Royal it is as a friend. While on the topic of sermons we may note that Bossuet in administering Confirmation always made a simple homely sermon with it.

During those sad days of persecution (1665-69) what have we to record about sermons? *Inter arma silent prædicationes*. M. de St. Marthe had been employed by M. Singlin to assist him in spiritual work, especially at the convent of Les Champs. He ministered there between 1656 and 1679, when he was obliged finally to retire. He said he had not the gift of preaching, but that was his own estimate. Certainly he was a person of great holiness and wisdom. He represented amongst Jansenists the party of peace and of moderation: his method and counsel was to oppose to all storms nothing but invincible humility and patience. He was the intimate friend and confessor of Pascal: his 'Spiritual Letters' are full of admirable thoughts on such subjects as the virtue of suffering and the soul's inward life. He says himself, speaking of his sermons to the sisters, that he has always taught them the common truths of religion and has avoided all controversies of the day. In the days when they were forbidden all spiritual consolation he used to come, at great risk, to the outside of the garden wall on a winter night (probably in 1667), get up into a tree, and from that slippery elevation make a consoling discourse to the poor sisters listening from the garden within. After the peace of the Church had been established in 1669 he continued to minister (under M. de Saci) till the final expulsion of friends in 1679. The dearth of sermons during the dark years was also sometimes supplied by pious tracts which M. Hamon, the doctor, a devout mystic, used to compose and circulate.

While in captivity at a convent of the Visitation the Sœur Briquet declined to listen to Jesuit sermons, but occupied herself with pious books instead.

During the last brief respite of Port Royal (1669-79), an autumn brightness soon to pass into winter, we find but few notices of sermons. Mme. de Longueville, that Princess-penitent who, while she lived, protected Port Royal effectually, heard M. le Tourneux preach there. M. de Saci and M. de St. Marthe officiated ordinarily. A long-exiled friend of old days, M. Feydeau, preached the Advent sermons in 1676. M. Floriot had been instructing the domestics, and out of his instructions published an excellent volume on the Lord's Prayer. 'The holy domestics' fill their own place at Port Royal, where no one was forgotten. They were drawn from all parts of France, often quite young men who were brought together by a common desire to serve God in a stricter life; many touching traits of their devotion are recorded.

A wedding sermon of this time is preserved to us: it was preached early in 1677 by Antoine Arnauld himself at the church of St. Severin at Paris at the wedding of Augustin Thomas, surnamed de Bosroger (younger brother of Pierre Thomas du Fossé), to Catherine Agnès le Maître, grand-niece of the preacher.

'It is a great consolation to me [he began] now that I have to speak for the first time of what St. Paul calls a great mystery, that I speak to persons whom God has already so well instructed. For I know, and rejoice to know, that it is neither flesh and blood, nor the prospect of temporal gain, nor any other human consideration, but only a desire to follow God's will and lead a truly Christian life that joins you in this holy bond. As St. Paul wrote to the Thessalonians that they needed not instruction in brotherly love, being already "taught of God," so I say to you about married love: God has spoken to your hearts by His Holy Spirit, spoken that word which is heard within, and which inspires love at the same time as knowledge, discovering what God demands of us and also making us delight to fulfil it. You are going with St. Paul to seek the model of the virtues of the married state, the foundation of the duties of the married state, in Christ's own ineffable union with His Church. Consider what

the Apostle says as to the dignity of marriage under the new Law : it is after the pattern of the Incarnation which is the *chef-d'œuvre* of Divine Wisdom and Love. How could God's infinite Wisdom and tender Love be better seen than in that mystery where He not only pardons sinners but contracts with mankind the closest and most tender alliance ? Christians marry "in the Lord" (as the Apostle says) and must never forget that their marriage is after the pattern of Christ's own union with His Church ; thus they will treat a thing so holy in a spirit of holiness, remembering St. Paul's advice : "let every one of you learn to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour," and being confident that God will give them the necessary help to live worthily of their holy calling. Christian marriage is not an empty form as are ceremonies of the ancient law ; for Christ joins His grace to it, rendering it more tender as well as more lasting (for nought but death can sever it). He Himself assisted at a wedding and changed water into wine, that is the weakness of the flesh into the strength of His Spirit. The duties of the married state are, according to the lofty pattern set before us by the Apostle : "let wives be subject to their own husbands as the Church is to Christ" ; "let husbands love their wives even as Christ also loved the Church and gave Himself for it." Could he have marked in a more touching manner that the mutual love of spouses should be holy and spiritual, directed towards their salvation, as is Christ's own love for His Church ? They should indeed love one another, but in God and for God ; so too should they love the relations whom they acquire by this common bond, and their children above all who are the end and fruit of marriage. They should bear in mind the words of Tobias : "O God, I have taken this my sister not for lust, but uprightly." They should say : "I have taken wife or husband to have a posterity who shall praise Thee for ever ; to give children to God, members to Christ, holy lives to the Church."

'But, to accomplish this end, father and mother must above all things desire to bring up their children as true Christians ; this should be the end of their education, their studies, their preparation for a calling or condition. Indeed, this responsibility is great and serious. I began by expressing my joy in you, I conclude by expressing my fears for you : it is possible to enter holily into a holy state, and yet not to persevere in the same spirit. To have had a good calling is not enough, fresh grace is needed to persevere in it. The more favours God gives the more responsibility they imply ; only in the other world

shall we be in perfect confidence: this life is a place of temptation and of combat, where "we must work out our salvation with fear and trembling." Still, to encourage you, I will say this: you may draw confidence from finding yourselves in the dispositions which God has given you. They are an effect and a sign of His eternal Love for you, and on this Love depends your salvation. Because He loves you, God has given you His grace, and with the same grace He will complete His work. He loves you in order that you may love Him both in time and in eternity. Live in this hope, strengthen your humble confidence in His mercy by acts of devotion, and by the practice of good works. Do not doubt but that you will reap their fruit in heaven. This is what I desire for you and what I am going to ask of God for you by presenting to Him that Saving Victim by whom alone we have access to His Throne and obtain what is needful for our salvation.'

All Port Royal is in this sermon: St. Paul the counsellor, Divine Grace the support and stay, a spirit of awe yet of unfailing trust, the Holy Eucharist as the effectual presentation of Christ's all-prevailing Sacrifice.

In 1679, Mme. de Longueville being dead, the King proclaimed his irrevocable determination to finish with Port Royal. Under royal orders Archbishop de Harlai forbade (May 1679) any more sisters to be professed; removed, finally and for good, novices, postulants, school-girls, confessors and solitaries, and began a thirty years' blockade whence there was no escape. One passing gleam of light appears at the outset of these evil days in the ministrations of M. le Tourneux; of all strictly Port Royal preachers he was the most eloquent, though he ministered there for little more than one troubled year. Born at Rouen in 1640, of poor working-class people, he shewed exceptional talent in his childish days: he loved to listen to preachers, and would repeat word for word what he had heard; he was often placed on a chair and preached to a nursery audience with amazing facility and confidence. M. Thomas du Fossé the elder had had some money left him by a relation on purpose to bring up young scholars who had no resources of their own; out of this fund he defrayed Le Tourneux' education. After a while he was sent to

Paris and put at a Jesuit college. There he was chosen as comrade and class-fellow to dispute in rhetoric with young Le Tellier, future Marquis de Louvois; from thence he went to study philosophy at the Collège des Grassins. After the completion of his studies he lived for a while with a good priest in Touraine, then returned to his native city of Rouen and sought Holy Orders. His catechizing was so admired that the Grand Vicars of the Archbishop pressed him to be ordained priest at the age of twenty-two, and obtained for him the necessary dispensations. He became curate of a parish in Rouen, and here his sermons not only edified his own parish but drew crowds from outside. His style was extremely simple, and yet did not lack dignity; he shewed perfect mastery of Holy Scripture. One sermon of his, preached in 1669, young Pierre Thomas du Fossé heard and remembered vividly thirty years after. The preacher said :

‘ How great is our blindness that we cannot see what alone gives true happiness and satisfies the heart’s desire—how strangely the fascinations of this life bewitch our soul and hinder us from seeking God—how deluding is self-love which binds us firmly to earth while we vainly call ourselves “citizens of heaven.” If you had the choice given you to live always on this earth in grandeur, riches and prosperity, but on this condition, never to see God, never to obtain Him who is the supreme good, how many of you would choose that false felicity and reject eternal life. Can it be said of those who would make such a choice that they love God with heart and mind and soul and strength, as they are bound to do ? ’

After working in Rouen for about seven years, M. le Tourneux gave up his curacy in 1669, owing to compunction of mind at having entered Holy Orders too hastily, and retired to Paris, where he lived for a while in great retirement. Here he devoted himself to study and to preparation of his admirable religious books (for he exercised an apostolate of the pen). In 1671 he became chaplain of the Collège des Grassins where he had been educated, and preached to the boys on Sundays; but very soon others came to listen, amongst them M. le Vayer, a great lawyer,

who persuaded Le Tourneux to leave the college and settle in his house, where he would have time to write. M. le Vayer was *marguillier* (or churchwarden) of the Church of St. Benoist in the Rue St. Jacques, and persuaded him to preach there the Lent sermons of 1682, in the place of Père Quesnel, who had been obliged to go into concealment. Le Tourneux had been in October 1681 permitted, by special toleration of the Archbishop, to act as confessor of Port Royal des Champs, now under the shadow of royal and episcopal disfavour. His arrival as confessor was thought quite too good news to be true, but he was upheld for a while by very powerful friends, the sons of the Chancellor le Tellier (the Marquis de Louvois and the Archbishop of Rheims), who had been his companions at college. Mère Angélique de St. Jean, then abbess, writing to the Archbishop of Paris on Easter Day, 1682, pleads most earnestly that M. le Tourneux may be allowed to remain as confessor, for the sisters had all taken confidence in him, and she expresses a hope that the Archbishop's approval of their confessor's Lent sermons might be an augury of better times for themselves. When he first appeared in the pulpit at St. Benoist his homeliness of manner and appearance made the church officials expect nothing but empty chairs, but no sooner had he preached one sermon than hearers overflowed from every side. The King heard of his sermons, and asked Boileau who this preacher might be whom everyone went to hear. 'Your Majesty knows,' said the poet, 'that novelties attract; here is a preacher who actually preaches the Gospel.' The King making further inquiries, his interlocutor said: 'When he enters the pulpit he looks so hideous we wish him to come down, but no sooner has he begun than we dread his leaving off.' M. le Tourneux had gained prizes from the Academy in 1671 and 1677 for elaborate written discourses on a given subject, but in the pulpit he put aside written sermons (a rare thing to do in those days) and preached out of the fulness of his heart. On the day that the Gospel of Dives and Lazarus was read (Thursday in the second week of Lent) he spoke so movingly against luxury and waste that his hearers determined to

sell their superfluous ornaments for charity. One day, when the quarrels of footmen outside the church who were waiting for their master or mistress made such a noise as to interrupt the preacher, he said, when the noise had abated :

‘ It is God, my brethren, who speaks to you on this occasion and reminds you of your duty to your servants. It is an unfair division for you to nourish yourselves with God’s Word and suffer your household meanwhile to offend God by riotous behaviour. Bring with you to church those attendants only who are absolutely indispensable, and take care that they not only wait outside a church but themselves hear sermons and profit by them. God would have your household Christians as well as yourselves, nay, if they are not, how can you call yourselves so ? ’

After this digression he resumed his discourse where he had broken off. His last sermon of the course was delivered on the Festival of the Annunciation (transposed for that year to Low Sunday). He ended thus :

‘ We hear to-day how Gabriel took to the Holy Virgin the news of the Mystery of the Incarnation, and, after he had obtained her consent to God’s will for her, he retired to heaven and was seen no more. So evangelical preachers aim at forming Christ in the heart of their hearers, and when their work is done they retire to converse with God in prayer after having so long spoken for Him in the pulpit. We should have spoken in vain and you would have listened in vain unless Christ had been formed in your heart and you yourselves had begun to live with His new life so as to be able to say with the Apostle: “ it is no longer I that live, but Christ that lives in me and makes me walk in newness of life.” ’

Mme. de Sévigné, writing in 1685 (three years later), and thinking of this course of sermons, recalls ‘ the apostolic simplicity of M. le Tourneux ’ ; and the name of *prédicateur de St. Benoist* stuck to him. But this great success in the pulpit roused up great jealousy, as M. de Saci had foreseen. He had earnestly recommended M. le Tourneux to avoid all appearances in public and to keep himself for ministrations to souls in private and by his books, but this one occasion he had not been able to avoid. He was never

again heard in the pulpit, nor was he allowed to continue as confessor at Port Royal after October 1682. He gave way to his enemies and retired to the Priory of Villers in Picardy, where he lived a life of extreme self-denial and prayer, only surrounding himself with some young men whom he was training for the priesthood. Meanwhile he still wrote and published, but the Papal Nuncio prohibited the sale of his great work, the *Année Chrétienne*, because it contained a translation into French of the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass. In May 1686 the Archbishop's secretary sent M. le Tourneux a memorandum of the complaints that the Archbishop had against him: it is written in the third person and in a high and haughty tone. The Archbishop reminds him that he has been allowed (a great mark of confidence) to go to Port Royal, and is much displeased that after leaving he had returned there secretly. The Archbishop had supported his sermons at St. Benoist, and even allowed him to preach on some other occasions. When he retired to his Priory he had promised the Archbishop that he would not preach anywhere, and yet he had done so. The Bishop of Soissons had complained of this breach of promise, and thus had caused the small pension to be withdrawn which he had from the Crown. Moreover he has had intercourse with suspected persons, and when he came to Paris had shewn himself in public places, as he had been cautioned not to do. He may continue to write books so long as he puts no novelties in them. Let him follow M. Nicole's counsels, instead of listening to less discreet persons. M. le Tourneux replies at once, with humble thanks for the admonition: he defends himself simply, saying he had never once returned to Port Royal (either openly or secretly) after his engagement there was over; he has never once preached in Paris after the *carême* at St. Benoist was over, with the sole exception of one address given in a private house, about which he had consulted the Archbishop beforehand, and had prefixed to his discourse the remarks which the Archbishop had prescribed. Since he had been back in his Priory he had preached nowhere. What the Bishop of Soissons complained of was

not that he preached, but that he was not allowed to preach. He had no intercourse with anyone except what necessity and charity prescribed ; he did not remember that at his last visit to Paris he had been cautioned not to shew himself in public. The Archbishop will remember that he has always professed himself willing to catechize in the smallest parish of the diocese : he is indeed an unprofitable servant, and thinks of himself no otherwise. He sets high value on the advice of Nicole and is always ready to follow it ; he has avoided any kind of party speeches or combinations. ~

He came to Paris in November 1686 to see the Archbishop about the prohibition of the *Année Chrétienne*, and died there suddenly of apoplexy, being found speechless when called at 7 A.M. on November 28 ; he died the same afternoon, without regaining consciousness.

In M. le Tourneux' little book, ' The Life of our Lord Jesus Christ ' (it gives the substance of Christ's words and acts, with a brief explanation), there are many thoughts useful for sermons. The Preface tells the tale of the Fall and its consequences as being the reason of Christ's coming on earth to save us. Man was formed in God's image, with high and glorious faculties, but by sin fell into the darkness of ignorance, inclination to evil, passions and troubles of mind, need, pain and distress, liability to death and to everlasting loss. To remedy our evils the Son of God took on Himself all man's weaknesses and miseries, except only ignorance and sin. In order that we might again discern God it was needful for God to turn to us, shew Himself to our eyes, place Himself amongst the visible things which claimed all our attention. He did not content Himself with dying for our sins, but also lived on earth such a life as we could take for our model, whereby to reform our life—all that we are told of His life on earth is designed for our salvation.

A little book of piety by the same author (he wrote many more) was called ' The Best Manner of hearing Holy Mass.' He says that the best way of hearing Mass is to follow the priest in all that he says and does : the purpose of the Church has always been to offer Mass as the common

sacrifice of believers in which all take part. The author desires to awaken the worshipper's intelligence and make him comprehend the meaning of all that is said and done at the altar. He suggests simple thoughts and prayers towards this end for use at each part of the service.

We are often told that the Church of Rome knows how to use all various talents, and that that is where we fail in the Church of England. What shall we say of this great preacher and admirable expounder of Scripture, silenced, his talents stifled in obscurity, his works anathematized? His purpose was by word and writing to make the faithful participate with intelligence in all Christian teaching and worship. But a powerful party could not bear that reason should have any part in sacred things—that Scripture or prayer or rite should be made intelligible to the people. A religion of the feelings and of the senses triumphed.

We may note, as belonging to the same time as M. le Tourneux' last years, M. de Saci's last sermon, delivered the day before his death, January 5, 1684, on the subject of St. Geneviève and the profit of observing saints' days, when (says Fontaine) 'he spoke of the things of faith as if he saw them.' Also we must not forget Du Guet's famous expositions of Holy Scripture given at the seminary of St. Magloire at Paris in the years immediately preceding 1685 (when he, like other Oratorians of pronounced Jansenist sympathies, had to go into retirement). His object was to make all parts of Scripture serve to illustrate Christian doctrine. Out of these expositions his thirty volumes of commentary grew. Who ever dealt more admirably than he with Genesis, or with the Psalter, or with the history of Christ's Passion?

Pierre Thomas du Fossé (the memoir-writer) had the *goût des voyages*, and took a journey every summer. In 1691 he, with his brother and brother's wife (whose marriage sermon we noticed above) and their son of ten years old, was travelling in Central France. They got to Amboise on September 7, Eve of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary. On the Festival they passed all the morning at the

church, where Mattins were solemnly sung and then High Mass. Du Fossé went to confession and found the priest 'an honest man and charitable pastor.' As they were sitting down to dinner they heard that the Abbé Gaillard, whom they knew, was holding a mission in the town and would preach that afternoon. He was called 'Abbé,' but was not in Orders, having only the tonsure and ecclesiastical dress, but he had a good income and a heart full of charity. He was often employed by bishops to preach and catechize, and wherever he was preaching a mission he used to bring a physician with him and set up a small field hospital of eight or ten beds to relieve the sick poor. When the time for sermon came, the preacher took a text of the Gospel and explained it literally, then applied it to his hearers, all with clearness, facility, and surprising brevity. His custom was at the beginning of a sermon to tell his audience that he meant to be very brief, and therefore if they were inattentive or dropped off to sleep they would miss the whole sermon. This preamble always excited attention. Indeed, though he was expected to be brief, still he exceeded expectation and ended so abruptly as to leave his hearers regretting that he had finished, 'whereas' (says Du Fossé) 'weariness rather than regret is the general disposition of those who hear a sermon to its end.' The preacher took the travellers to see his dispensary and temporary hospital, which pleased them much; then they resumed their journey and got to Tours the same night.

But it is time to bring these scattered notes on Port Royal preaching to a close. We will inter the subject with a funeral discourse. Racine was buried at Port Royal, next to the grave of M. Hamon (according to his own express desire), on April 23, 1699. The priest from St. Sulpice who accompanied the body said a few words. M. Eustace, the confessor of the house, replied that it was right that the illustrious dead should have willed to be buried there where he had received the first seeds of that Religion and Truth which he had loved. He added a few words on the storm that had fallen on the holy house and dispersed its friends. As for the dead, briars and thorns

had for a while choked the good seed sown in his heart, but as he was (we humbly trust) one of those plants which our heavenly Father had planted and which cannot be rooted up, Truth had again resumed its hold on him and brought forth fruit in due season. The speaker alluded further (not to Racine's genius and glory, but) to his piety, his patience throughout his long sickness, his friendship for Port Royal (of which he never was ashamed, even in the King's presence), and the gratitude of Port Royal for all his services.

We began by comparing the objects and methods of this movement with those of Tractarianism. That, like Port Royal, was overthrown for the time by charges of bishops and anathemas of theologians, but survived in new forms. That, too, drew its inspiration from great preachers—such and such a sermon marked a stage in the movement. But the pulpit of Port Royal never rang so widely as the pulpit of St. Mary's at Oxford, nor did any Port Royal preacher vie with his subtlety to whom his poet friend wrote :

' So ample and so keen, so quickly wrought
The evolutions of thy lightning thought,
That thine own feet were tangled in the net
Intended for the foe in conflict met.'

Still, for those who care to look for them, there are these resemblances, and more than these.

HENRY T. MORGAN.

ART. VI.—AENEAS SILVIUS PICCOLOMINI: POPE PIUS II.

1. *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini.* Vols. I. and II. (1431-45) in 'Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Diplomataria et Acta,' LXI. and LXII. Edited by RUDOLF WOLKAN. (Vienna: A. Hölder. 1909.)
2. *Aeneas Silvius, Orator, Man of Letters, Statesman and*

- Pope.* By WILLIAM BOULTING. (London: Constable and Co. 1908.)
3. *Eneas Silvius de' Piccolomini. Literarische Tätigkeit auf dem Gebiete der Erdkunde und dessen Einfluss auf die Geographen der Folgezeit.* By K. H. MÜLLER. (Fürth: A. Schröder. 1903.)
 4. *Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini als Papst Pius II. Sein Leben und Einfluss auf die literarische Cultur Deutschlands.* By A. WEISS. (Graz: U. Moser. 1897.)
 5. *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter.* By G. VOIGT. 3 vols. (Berlin: G. Reimer. 1856-63.)
 6. *A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome.* Vol. III. By M. CREIGHTON, D.D., Lord Bishop of London. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1882.)
- And other Works.

THE permanent popularity of certain figures in history is not always easy to explain. Relative importance is by no means the chief or only factor; the survival of the fittest is not the invariable rule. A tragic end will often make the fortune of heroine or hero, for this gives finish to the task of the biographer. But in the absence of striking incident the explanation may be found in perplexity of character. Character always lives, even when the circumstances which formed its environment are lifeless or dead-alive. Character, at all events, must be the secret of the abiding interest in Aeneas Silvius. It may be admitted that there is just a touch of tragedy in his death, but there was no notable episode in his career, and his pontificate had no marked effect upon the fortunes of the Papacy. Even within the fifteenth century his reign is of less political importance than those of Martin V, Eugenius IV, Sixtus IV, and Alexander VI. Rome and the Vatican owe little or nothing of their store of treasures to him; in the encouragement given to art and letters Nicholas V stands head and shoulders higher. Nevertheless, Aeneas continues to exercise a fascination which seems always fresh, and

biographers jostle round him. A new edition of his letters is in course of publication, and Mr. Boulting's recent biography was only just in time to delay the appearance of another. Mr. Boulting justly claims that his own book is the first self-subsistent life of his hero in English, but Dr. Creighton's treatment of Pius II is by far the most elaborate portion of his 'History of the Papacy,' and it may be doubted if it is not as long as Mr. Boulting's separate work. Voigt's three substantial volumes, published between 1856 and 1863, have never lost their authority, while Dr. Pastor is only less full than Dr. Creighton. The estimate formed by each writer differs from that of his fellows. At the one pole is the laboured indictment of Voigt, at the other the untempered panegyric of Mr. Boulting. The main interest, it will be found, is neither political nor ecclesiastical, but always personal. Aeneas Silvius was, indeed, in personality essentially human, a man who might have lived in any age, and in any age would have attained a certain measure of fame, though it has become increasingly difficult for the rays of a bright individuality to pierce the banks of cloudy commonplace which intercept its sunshine.

Aeneas no doubt owes much of his posthumous fame to his literary gifts. He was, perhaps, the best man of letters and the best speaker that ever wore the triple crown. If only he had written in his own Italian language instead of in the Latin which custom demanded, he would rank among the chief of the world's letter and memoir writers. His literary versatility was marvellous. He wrote long hexameter poems, elegies, epitaphs and hymns, comedies and novelettes, treatises on education, grammar, rhetoric and horseflesh, polemical pamphlets and dialogues, geography and history—a history of Bohemia, of the Emperor Frederick III, of the Council of Bâle, even a history of Asia. But above all he is his own historian in his letters and commentaries, the latter of which are really diaries. Between them they extend throughout almost the whole of his career, and it is mainly these which explain his somewhat baffling character. For his character was a

puzzle to his contemporaries, and its chemical ingredients have been disputed ever since.

So also is his success a puzzle. Others, it is true, with as little wealth and less gentility have climbed to St. Peter's chair, but they have usually pushed up through the ranks of one of the great Religious Orders, and by means of talents which normally secured promotion within these Orders, such as saintliness, deep learning, administrative ability. Aeneas was not a man of profound learning, not a theologian, not a canonist ; least of all was he an administrator or financier. And he had no great Order to thrust him upwards. He was eminently individualist ; he won his way by his personal qualities.

To which of these qualities did he owe success ? To his utter lack of scruple, said some, to his opportunism, his skill in talking, his *flair* for the critical moment and for the right people. But we do not read his character thus. It may be urged that his force of character has been rated too high, and his morality too low. He had not really the genius to mould circumstances, nor even perhaps the stuff to fight them. Nor had he a creative intellect. What he possessed was a peculiarly impressionable nature, upon which circumstances could not fail to act. He might and did influence others by his powers of language, but he was in the first instance not the motive force but the receptive medium. The impulse came from stronger natures or stronger circumstances. Such men, if sufficiently great, are usually dubbed turncoats, apostates, hypocrites, opportunists. In fact this very impressionability is akin to opportunism. The latter is conscious, the former unconscious, and therefore far more effective if it be the inspiring power in one who has an unusual gift of expression.

For the development and utilization of this gift of expression the times were unusually propitious. Aeneas was from early youth a secretary, and this was the golden age of secretaries. All the learned, all the eloquent men of Italy engaged in this profession. Their functions were extensive, for they were not merely scribes, but pamphleteers

and orators. But the letter, the pamphlet and the speech were all vehicles of Rhetoric, that is of the Art of Persuasion. 'Never except in ancient Athens,' wrote Gregorovius, 'did the Goddess of Persuasion exercise such power, never had Rhetoric enjoyed such high prestige.' This was at once cause and result of the new diplomacy, and this, in turn, the outcome in great measure of the two first European Congresses, Constance and Bâle. Of this diplomacy Aeneas became the most persuasive interpreter. He was entirely conscious of the power of Rhetoric. He writes to an English friend, Adam de Moleyn :

'Hold fast and enlarge the eloquence which you possess; think it most honourable to yourself to excel mankind in that, in which men themselves excel the rest of animate creation. A mighty thing is power of speech, and, to confess the truth, there is nothing that rules the world like eloquence. For whatever we do in politics, we do under the persuasion of language, and popular opinion cleaves to him who best knows how to persuade.'

This art of persuasion now seems almost lost. Our preachers and public speakers dilate, instruct, inveigh, but how seldom do they persuade! To sum up, we may conclude that the secret of Aeneas' success was Expression, the key to his character Impression. This, of course, does not exclude other qualities, such as self-seeking, intrigue, vanity, pleasantness. A great speaker is almost necessarily vain, because he must inevitably be self-conscious of the effect of his own words. So, too, pleasantness is associated with impressionability, which is akin to sympathy. But such qualities are not of the essence of Aeneas' character; they were the accidents, the inseparable accidents at the most.

It is by following the several phases of Aeneas' career that the qualities of Impression and Expression are best tested. He was the son of a Sieneſe gentleman ſo poor that he had to work like a labourer in his home at Corſignano. His eighteen children no doubt partly accounted for theſe ſtrained means. The boy was educated in the

second-rate university of Siena. Intended for the law, he was carried away by the literary enthusiasm of the age, giving himself up heart and soul to the classical poets and orators, copying long extracts from books which he could not afford to buy. To the end he disliked law and lawyers, saying that they were usually dull men, and that they needed not talent but only memory. Even now his industry was incomparable. Yet in spite of it he was popular, and won the life-long friendship of Mariano Sozzini, one of the highest, loosest, and most cultured citizens of Siena—though a professor, and one of the best in Italy, and that of the hated Law school.

All of a sudden Aeneas fell under a different spell. St. Bernardino came to conduct a mission in his native city. The Franciscan's homely, direct eloquence and infectious piety almost swept Aeneas into a convent. His friends dissuaded him, and, as he afterwards thought, rightly, but his conscience was ill at ease, and he tramped all the way to Rome to consult the preacher as to whether he might righteously forgo his momentary impulse. This fact is of importance in estimating his character, for it is a proof that he had the potentiality for religion. This might never be energized, as Aristotle would say, but there it was through all his mundane, humanistic, and even reprehensible early life. Of this one or two other illustrations may be given, though out of their chronological setting. When nearly wrecked off Scotland he made a vow that, if he were saved, he would walk barefoot to the Madonna's nearest shrine. This he did, trudging from Dunbar to Whitekirk in deep snow to the permanent injury of his feet. Some years later, in a letter to a friend, he urged the absolute necessity of fulfilling vows made in danger or sickness. And again we would quote in this connexion a very intimate letter, written in his comparatively unregenerate days:

'He is a miserable man and without God's grace, who does not at some time or other turn back to his own heart and search himself; who does not amend his life, and ponder within himself on what the life which comes after this contains.

I have sinned enough and more than enough. Now I know myself anew. Ah! may it not be too late!'

After his preliminary studies at Siena, Aeneas had the delight of listening at Florence to two of the world's greatest scholars, Poggio Bracciolini and Filelfo. Now he became a poet and a Latinist, a receptive pupil rather than an original genius, a man of culture rather than of research. Both teachers bore their load of learning lightly. Greek to Filelfo and Latin to Poggio were as living languages, which they employed rather as men of the world than as grammarians. Aeneas was infected by their literary lightness, if he never absorbed their learning: in fact he never could learn Greek, though he used translations from it as part of his stock-in-trade.

On the return of Aeneas to Siena his chance came. The breach between Eugenius IV and the Council of Bâle had just begun to yawn. Cardinal Capranica, flying from the ill-tempered Pope to refuge with the Council, took the clever young Siennese with him as secretary. The youth had to find his bearings in the bewildering jumble of all the virtue and vice of Europe. By way of contrast he watched the entrance of the earnest, resolute Bohemian envoys with the sign of the chalice on their banner, and of the bright-eyed Emperor Sigismund, quick-tempered, open-handed, and light of love. Fortunately Aeneas found decent service under one or other of the great ecclesiastics, Papal and anti-Papal, who visited the Council. Then he began the travels which meant so much to his impressionable nature, and which provided him with the material for his life-like exposition. In the suite of Cardinal Albergati, which included another future Pope, Tommaso Parentucelli (Nicholas V), he visited Milan in the days of Filippo Maria Visconti, saw Amedeo VIII of Savoy in his luxurious hermitage on Lake Geneva, and journeyed down the Rhine from Bâle to attend the Congress of Arras. Hence he was sent alone on a mission to the King of Scotland. Passing through Canterbury and Strood, where he heard the well-worn tale that the inhabitants were born with tails, he reached London, only to be

deported. This entailed a terrible voyage from Sluys to Dunbar, whence he rode to the Court at Edinburgh. The stay in Scotland, the night of alarms when he had crossed the frontier, his journey through England in disguise and in the reputable company of a justice in eyre, all provided 'copy' for his indefatigable pen.

After his return Aeneas spent seven years at Bâle, seven useless, wasted years, as he afterwards believed, for he learnt to condemn alike the life which he led and the opinions which he championed. Nevertheless it was at Bâle that his tongue and his pen found their true vocation, the art of persuasion. Aeneas was carried away by the reforming enthusiasm of the Conciliar party among whom he now lived. This was another fresh impression upon his receptive mind. He explained in later years that he knew nothing of Eugenius IV or the Papal Curia: he believed all the exaggerated scandals that found currency at Bâle. His own talents had a fair field in the democratic atmosphere of the Council; he rose step by step to be its chief secretary, its most brilliant exponent, giving to it no new matter, but the finest expression of its dialectic, both on paper and in speech. The ill-feeling between Pope and Council became more and more acute, until the latter deposed the former, and elected as anti-Pope the hermit Duke of Savoy, Aeneas' former host. Here was schism in form. Lausanne, which Felix V made his Vatican, would become a second Avignon. This, however, was the Council's irremediable error. Moderate men were shocked at schism, and began to drift Romewards. The European States, France and Germany, while utilizing the Conciliar programme, refused to recognize an anti-Pope. In Germany the Electors formed the so-called Neutral Union, which contained the germ of a National Church, Catholic in doctrine but rejecting dependence upon the Pope. It was a critical moment for the secretary of the Council.

Aeneas was not at first shaken; indeed the Pope of the future was now secretary to the anti-Pope. Yet his sensitive nature became conscious of the chill in the atmosphere. The Papacy of Lausanne was an anachronism,

an absurdity. The world had no use for it; States that disliked the Pope at Rome were doing fairly well without a Pope at all. Aeneas in the course of his diplomatic missions was brought into contact with the German neutral party. Instead of persuading it by the power of his expression, he was himself impressed. It was a great occasion in Germany, for the young Emperor, Frederick III, was going on his first ceremonial round. To him Aeneas, while on a mission to Frankfort, was introduced, and by him, for some totally unexplained reason, was crowned poet. The Emperor knew nothing about poetry and cared less. Had he given a diploma for the best-grown cabbage the compliment would have been appreciable, for on this subject Frederick was an expert. Nevertheless the title conferred some ornamental and practical privileges, and henceforth Aeneas signed himself *Poeta*. Soon afterwards he was offered a post in the Imperial Chancery, and left Bâle for ever.

At the Imperial Court Aeneas fell mainly under the influence of the all-powerful Chancellor, Caspar Schlick, a strong, coarse, capable personality. While the Italian interloper was snubbed and cold-shouldered by his German colleagues, Schlick shewed him uniform kindness, making him almost one of the family and gradually using him as his right-hand man in the extraordinarily complicated diplomacy of Frederick the Third's reign. Before long Aeneas must discover that the Emperor's interests were not identical with those of the German neutral party, at the head of which stood the Electors. The Council of Bâle and the Electors had, in their several ways, a disintegrating, anti-monarchical tendency. If the original aim of the neutrals had been the creation of a national German Church, the object of the princes now seemed to be the strengthening of their own particular secular authority by absorption of the ecclesiastical. The result would be a group of princely territorial churches, such as that which was achieved by the Reformation, and this was, of course, directly opposed to the interests of the monarchy. Thus the natural ally of the Empire could only be the spiritual monarchy of

the Pope : the old rivals, Empire and Papacy, must lean against each other for support.

This new policy was enforced upon the Papal side by two of the greatest spiritual influences of the day, the Cardinals Cesarini and Carvajal, both of whom Aeneas met at Vienna. He had in earlier days been deeply impressed by Cesarini, who had once warmly advocated the Conciliar cause. Cesarini was a man of saintly life, of untainted honesty and great personal fascination : he shared, moreover, all the literary and humanistic interests of Aeneas. Carvajal had an exceptionally strong will, an unalterable attachment to the Papacy, and an unequalled knowledge of the judicial and political bearings of his cause. It is noticeable with a view to Aeneas' future life that these two men were now (1443-44) the apostles of the crusade against the Turk. Cesarini himself fell in 1444 in the terrible rout of Varna.

Steeped in these influences Aeneas visited Rome in 1445 on the Emperor's behalf. He had never seen the city since he had tramped thither as a boy to consult St. Bernardino. Now he was formally reconciled to the Pope, and henceforth became the vehicle of expression in the negotiations which led to the reconciliation of the Empire with Eugenius IV upon his deathbed, and under Nicholas V to the Concordat of Vienna. This regulated the relations of Germany to the Papacy down to the Reformation : it may be said either to have caused or to have delayed the Reformation. Persuaded himself, Aeneas had with persuasive eloquence worked on others. His good sense, his moderation, arising from his power of seeing many sides, had made him an efficient mediator. His tongue and pen worked together like a well-trained pair.

Shortly before his reconciliation Aeneas had received two small benefices in succession, the first in the Sarnthal, the second at Aspach in the diocese of Passau. It is not certain that he resided at either, though he gives a graphic description of the customs of his mountain parishioners in the one, and wrote his opening sermon for the other. He did not, in fact, take priest's orders until

after his return from Rome nearly a year later. This was late in life, and only after many searchings of heart as to his ability to keep his vow. Such scruples were not common among men of his class, who looked to clerical preferment as a means of livelihood and advancement. Aeneas had not been a good young man, nor even a good middle-aged man. This much is known not only from the self-reproach of his later life, when an over-sensitive character might have exaggerated early lapses, but from his own absolutely contemporary letters. While in Scotland he was tempted by one of the fair and sensuous women whom he describes; at Bâle he made at least one serious slide from the path of virtue. This latter he defended in a letter to his father with an impudent cynicism which is very unpleasant reading. Other letters give evidence that he enjoyed without scruple the loose life of travel, Council and Court. When he was forty he wrote a novelette describing a love adventure of his patron, Schlick. This is highly improper even for those days, and, what is worse, he confesses to writing it against his conscience. The only excuse which he could find in later life is that, though the story was bad, the moral was good. He complains that the public read the story and skipped the moral. It is fair to the public to add that the moral comes only on the last page.

Aeneas had without question the sensuous temperament with which an impressionable nature is often cursed, and his pleasant, winning manners made success the easier. On the other hand, his natural refinement saved him from the orgy of drink universal among his German associates. He speaks with disgust of the men of position who trained their sons from earliest youth to become champions in the art of drink, of the great nobleman who would visit the night nursery, and force wine down his children's reluctant throats as a test of their legitimacy—for there could be no true child who was not thirsty of nights. For his sobriety Aeneas claims no credit; he did not drink, he confesses, because drink was no temptation.

However bad Aeneas' previous life, there is no question

that his ordination amended it. He had early dwelt upon the sanctity of vows : the very scruples which had delayed his orders forced him to respect them. Henceforth even the light and frivolous character of his confidential letters changes. In 1447 he became Bishop of Trieste, and on the disgrace of Schlick he retired for a time to his diocese. This, the only pastoral episode in his career, was a matter rather of compulsion than choice, and he soon resumed his wandering diplomatic career. He engineered the Emperor's marriage with the beautiful and well-dowered Eleanor of Portugal, and then his coronation visit to Rome. During this journey he personally escorted the princess to the Emperor ; the meeting took place in his own city of Siena, of which he now became Bishop. During this period he was perpetually on the move between Italy, Vienna and Bohemia, until in May 1455 he left Germany for ever. Increasing infirmity confined his activities to Central and Southern Italy. Calixtus III made him a Cardinal, and this was, perhaps, the happiest and most peaceful epoch in his life, for he devoted himself mainly to historical work and leisurely travel. On the old Spaniard's death in 1458 he reached the summit of all ambition : he was elected Pope.

At this time we must picture to ourselves a little man with back somewhat bent, and a scanty fringe of hair prematurely white, a pale face lit up by smiling eyes, which, however, could flash sudden fire if his hot temper were aroused. His health had been always weak : gout, he wrote, was quite an old companion ; his feet were astrologers which infallibly foretold the coming of the equinox. One of his letters gives a schedule of the maladies from which he suffered within a year : pains in the head and then in the feet, weeks of acute agony in the waist—to say nothing of complaints more fitted for a medical journal. The worst of it is, he continues, that illnesses are so quick to come and so slow to go : they arrive by the pound and leave by the ounce. Yet he never shirked his work for illness : when Pope he never would refuse an audience from pain ; the only sign, as he spoke, was a slight drawing

of the mouth, or the pressure of his teeth upon the lower lip.

The Papacy of the fifteenth century was an institution not very spiritual, scarcely indeed ecclesiastical. It seemed to reflect in turn all types of Italian life, as on the slides of a magic-lantern. John XXIII had been a *condottiere*, and before that, perhaps, a pirate; Martin V a great Roman noble with a talent for political reconstruction; Eugenius IV was, indeed, a friar and a total abstainer, but his reign was spent in terrestrial quarrels; Nicholas V was a librarian, a book collector and a builder; Aeneas' immediate predecessor, Calixtus III, was, like a true Spaniard, absorbed in the Crusade, when he was not scheming principalities for his nephews, but his very short pontificate was mainly spent in bed. Aeneas himself had not owed his triumph to his spiritual but to his diplomatic qualities. It was the victory of style, of rhetoric, of the new diplomacy; the result of extraordinary experience in international complications. That his negotiations had turned largely on ecclesiastical questions was fortuitous; he himself complained of the obstacles which theology threw in the way of diplomats. It was not through the parish and the diocese that he had reached the Cardinalate and the Papacy, but through the *coulisses* of the Imperial Court.

What use would Aeneas make of his magnificent opportunities? The more natural alternatives were two: either he might follow in the steps of his former friend and near predecessor, Nicholas III, and make Rome the intellectual and artistic capital of the European world; or he might take up the process of Martin V and Eugenius IV, and convert the loosely knit and semi-independent Papal States into a centralized polity, a rival to the Italian secular powers. For this latter task his long career of diplomatic intrigue gave him a peculiar aptitude. But on these obvious alternatives he turned three-quarters of his back. He had, perhaps, outlived his early literary impressionability. He knew too well the moods, the morals, the manners of the literary lions. Their elation had been ecstatic when one of their own class had been

given boundless powers of patronage, but elation damped off under disillusion. Pius II wrote his more important Bulls and Briefs himself: there was no need for a Valla or a Poggio; he needed his money for other purposes than for pompous panegyrics after Cicero, or for translations from the Greek. Upon the art of Rome he left little trace: his only important monuments must be sought in his little native village of Corsignano, rechristened after him Pienza. He intended his birthplace to be the country seat of Pope and Cardinals, and so here in a miniature square of about the size of a large college quadrangle may be seen the epitome of Italian architecture of that age, the cathedral, the Bishop's palace, the town hall with its loggia, the city well with its bucket, and by it the palace of the Piccolomini, still inhabited by noble members of the house.

For the Papal States Pius II did little more than for their capital. He neglected their fortresses and made no annexations. In Italian politics he did indeed play a considerable part, at once original and successful. Against all traditions of Papal policy he supported through good report and evil the Aragonese claimant for Naples, the bastard Ferrante, against the brilliant Angevin, John of Calabria, son of René of Anjou. He believed that the Aragonese with no other ties would found a national dynasty, and close Italy to the quixotic enterprise of French adventurers. Yet for all this he cared comparatively little; his imagination was stirred by quite other aspects of the Papacy. Among all the reigns of the fifteenth century his alone has an antiquarian flavour. He seemed to be playing at the Popes of old, though he was sufficiently in earnest. Just as his curiosity was excited by every relic of the old world in and about Rome, so his whole nature was impressed by the old claims and glories of the Papacy. After all, visions of the Roman Empire might easily beset an imaginative Pope. 'The Papacy,' wrote Hobbes, 'is none other than the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof.' For Pius the Papacy was no petty Italian State, but the world ruler.

Just as Aeneas' character had yielded to the seductive influences of Bâle and Vienna, so now it adapted itself to the environment of his new ideals. His life had become spotless. He was frankly ashamed of his early principles and actions, and was not ashamed of openly confessing it. He consoled himself with the example of St. Paul and St. Augustine. 'Aeneam rejicite, Pium accipite,' was his cry after his election. He did his best to reform the morals of the Curia, rebuking Cardinal Borgia for his unseemly dances, reproaching the whole Papal Court with its luxury and extravagance. Bred among the Humanists, he rejected their advances, to their infinite disgust. Nourished on the democratic ideas of the Council, he became the strongest assertor of Papal supremacy over all powers temporal or spiritual. Of this supremacy his Bull *Execrabilis*, condemning all who appeal from Pope to Council to the penalties of heresy and treason, is the most positive expression. Addressed virtually to the King of France, it was a *brutum fulmen*, an unexploded bomb in its own day; but ever since it has been treasured in the Papal armoury as one of its most effective weapons, as the choicest and extremest utterance of Ultramontane claims. The moderate and temporizing negotiator, who had almost seemed to feel the weight of the Hussite arguments—so strongly did he put them—would now be content with nothing less than unconditional surrender of the elected King of Bohemia to Roman doctrine and Roman overlordship. As Bishop Aeneas had outspokenly recognized the bluntness of the Papal weapons of offence; as Pope he was blind to the spiritual impotence of his office in a wholly material world. As Bishop he had written that all men would belong to any religion which their rulers recommended; as Pope he expected princes and subjects to follow him in the cause of the Cross against the Crescent, a cause which he had once proved to be a chimaera.

This cause of the Crusade towards the end became his supreme preoccupation; upon this he lavished all the resources of the Papacy and squandered his own health. The secular princes, from the Emperor downwards, were

prodigal of promises, but of nothing else. The stately congresses produced tall talk in plenty, but neither arms nor men. Princes laughed in their respective sleeves at the quixotism of the senile Pope, or believed his Crusade to be a mendicant's imposture. Only Austria, Hungary, and Venice seemed immediately threatened. Yet who can say that the Pope was wrong? Hungary was ultimately to be the playground of the Turk; Italy herself was saved only by an accident. The Turks were rapidly spreading along the opposite shores of the Adriatic from the Morea to Dalmatia. A few years after the Pope's death a large force actually landed at Otranto, and, but for Sultan Mohammed's death, they would have come to stay. Their discipline, their mobility, their simple commissariat, which may be described as Liebig's Extract, gave them an incalculable advantage over European troops, either half-hearted mercenaries or untrained levies, with no discipline, and with such large appetites, both of man and horse, that the first tactical considerations must be those of drink and fodder.

As a forlorn hope, Pius himself took the Cross: he would shame the princes of Europe into following his lead. The actual Crusade upon which he set forth from Rome would be farcical, were it not pathetic. A river barge contained the handful of Cardinals and secretaries. The very first night Pius was so ill that he could not leave it. The drowning of a single rower totally upset the champion who was to lead the hosts of Christendom to death or glory. Leaving the waterway, the little party struggled across the Apennines under the scorching August sun, dropping now one and now another of the number from fever or white fever. Pius himself was carried in a litter, and from time to time the attendants drew its curtains that he might not see craven Crusaders trooping homeward from the coast.

At last he is at Ancona, and, like the remnants of Xenophon's ten thousand, he could cry: 'The sea, the sea!'—that sea which meant to him, not the safety of retreat, but salvation to be won by conquest. All that was needed to carry him to the realization of his later and nobler dreams

was the stately Venetian fleet. For this he looked in vain from the Bishop's palace on the bold headland, which elbows out into the sea southwards of Ancona. Below it in the town was gathered a riff-raff of so-called Crusaders, the physical and moral scrapings of Italy, neurotic fanatics or broken adventurers, clamouring not for fight but food—men whom the Pope could not pay with ducats but only with indulgences, which indeed most of them sorely needed—men who sold their arms to buy their passage home. Meanwhile across the narrow Adriatic the greatest soldier-statesman of his age, Sultan Mohammed, stretched out his hand against the Christian republic of Ragusa, which made clamorous appeals to the Pope for aid. A septuagenarian Cardinal and two ill-found galleys were all the succour that the head of Christendom could offer.

As day followed day, fever fought against the will. At length Pius was carried to the window to see the Venetian fleet sail in, a truly majestic fleet, with the world's first admiral, the Doge himself, commanding, but a Doge so sceptical, so unromantic that he sent his doctor ashore to ascertain whether the Pope was really ill or only shamming. Pius proved his good faith by dying within the second day. The deathbed scene is entirely human in its higher affections, its unexaggerated penitence, its clinging to family ties, which Pius was not unjustly considered to hold too dear. The scene itself and the setting of the story prove that the Renaissance, even the use of the classical instead of the vernacular tongue, had not destroyed the simplicity of Italian life or language.

Dr. Creighton wrote that Pius was lucky in the moment of his death. Lucky is not a happy phrase for one who deliberately wrought himself to death in a grand but hopeless cause. Rather than his luck it was his atonement. For a saint it would have been a small sacrifice, for saints get used to sacrifice. But this was a man with few of the characteristics of a saint, one who had drunk deeply of the pleasures which one of the most pleasurable of all ages had to offer. The death scene at Ancona was not a lucky ending, but the fitting, the necessary consummation

of an improving character. It is true enough that there was an element of accident in this improvement, that it was the result of circumstances working upon a susceptible, impressionable temperament. Yet even so there is comfort in the thought that merit is not only to be found in the strong formative characters, but even in our very susceptibilities and faculties for impression, if only the human wax is deep and pure enough to take the impress of the diviner seal.

If we turn from Aeneas' character to his career, it must be confessed that its brilliant course ended in darkness. He might have been an ideal Pope, peace-maker among Catholic nations, uniting Europe against the Turk, subordinating temporal to spiritual interests. The need was great, but the time was past. Men were more interested in nationality and national Churches than in the cosmopolitan universality of Christendom. What was yet more tragic—they never believed that Pius was in earnest. They could not understand the contradictions of an impressionable nature. Pius might shake himself free from the sins of his earlier life, but not from the scandal. Even his last journey was watched with incredulity; he was credited with sinister motives, or with the intention of starting merely to slip home again. His gift of persuasion had at last played him false: his power of expression had failed to convert others to the strongest impression of his life. And this is usually so with leaders, political or religious, who have not the true creative faculty, such as was possessed by Hildebrand or Calvin, by William the Conqueror or Solyman, by Bismarck or Cavour. Faith may remove mountains, but there comes a time when persuasion breaks its point against prejudice. Thus it was with Pius, with Savonarola, perhaps with the one great persuasive statesman of our own age and country. Rhetoric after all, even in its highest sense and most perfect form, is not the ruler.

The literary gift of Aeneas is precisely that which might be expected from his character; it is the photographic art of receiving and transmitting impressions, the power of seeing and making others see. His letters are, like those of all the Humanists, often overladen with tags of classical

learning, but his unusual experience of travel and his boundless curiosity make them of far higher interest than those of the great scholars upon which they were modelled. Aeneas seldom sees a place without describing its geographical situation, its history, the character of its people. He has an eye for any little salient detail. Thus when he visits the Hussite stronghold, Tabor, he notes the carving of the sacramental cup above the gate of entrance, just the object which would attract the traveller's eye, but which nine out of ten would omit to mention. His history of Europe is quite as much a treatise on geography and ethnology as a narrative of events, and this is true even when he is writing from hearsay evidence only, as in the case of the Slavic-Teutonic borderlands north and south of Bohemia. Scotland, on the other hand, which also lay half within and half without the pale of civilization, he knew at first hand. Here he distinguishes between two Scotlands, the cultivated and the wild, each with its distinct language. But even the former was cold and poor and somewhat treeless. Towns had no walls, and houses no mortar; the roofs were of turf, the door curtains of oxhide. The horses were unshod and ungroomed. Beggars received lumps of coal as alms instead of money. But there were compensations for a materially minded young secretary. The women had lovely fair complexions and were susceptible; kissing in Scotland counted for less than handshaking in Italy. The oysters were larger than in England. Aeneas knew how to make himself acceptable to the Scots; nothing, he writes, pleased them so much as abuse of the English.

The two letters which respectively describe Bâle and Vienna are good illustrations of Aeneas' descriptive skill, and provide a telling contrast. Vienna was surrounded with ditch and dike, wall and tower, whereas Bâle's defences could not have withstood the sieges of Italian warfare; she was defended only by the unity of her people and their contentment with their government. In both the houses were solidly built of stone, and were full of fine furniture, but in the Austrian capital Aeneas noticed rather the spacious stables and the cellars, for subterranean Vienna

was said to equal her superstructure. At Bâle he dwells on the domestic refinement, comparable to that of Florence, on the well-kept courts and gardens, the fountains as numerous as those for which Viterbo is still famous, on the comfortable heated halls, glazed and panelled, where the family dined or worked or slept in the company of numerous tame singing birds. Bâle was, indeed, a picturesque town, as seen from the neighbouring hills, with the steep roofs and the overhanging eaves, the sun glinting on the painted windows of church or mansion, and on the roofs the well-known storks' nests, which the inhabitants never disturbed, either because they would not hurt a harmless bird, or because the legend went that storks, if robbed of their young, set fire to the robber's house. At Bâle the aristocrats danced solemnly in exclusive ballrooms to which no *bourgeois* was admitted, unless, indeed, he were peculiarly rich. The citizens in general danced or had athletic sports, or played *primaeval* croquet in the grassy meadows outside the town, beneath elms and oaks trained from saplings to spread wide their boughs. Life in Vienna was one unceasing brawl, with its daily and nightly tale of victims. Students fought townsmen, and townsmen fought the gentry, or one trade union fought another. Private citizens thought it no shame to keep wine-shops to which they invited harlots and sots, supplying them with cooked food gratis to make them drink the more, and recouping themselves by short measure.

Neither at Bâle nor Vienna was the standard of morals or education high. In the Austrian capital conjugal fidelity was, according to Aeneas, a thing unknown, and the murder of inconvenient husbands was usual. Gluttony was the besetting sin of the lower classes, who spent a whole week's wage in gormandizing and wine-bibbing on a feast-day. Some of the Bâlers, too, spent most of their time in eating, but it was in the decent seclusion of their houses. These honest, simple citizens were also prone to wine and women, but then they saw no harm in this. Neither city cared for the humanities, for music or for rhetoric. If in Vienna they read Aristotle only in commentaries, at

Bâle they had never heard tell of Cicero and the orators, and only learned Latin to go to Rome to beg for benefices. At Vienna there was, indeed, one professor, not quite unknown, who was said to have written not wholly useless books, but he had lectured for two-and-twenty years on the first chapter of Isaiah, and had not yet reached its end. It is not surprising that the undergraduates roamed the streets day and night, and were an unbearable nuisance to the citizens.

Justice was in both cities administered by unwritten law, but with what different results! In Vienna its elasticity gave immunity to the rich, and, moreover, the palaces of nobles and great ecclesiastics were beyond its pale. In Bâle justice was absolutely pure: there was no escape for the powerful from the breaking on the wheel, the drowning or burning, the mutilation or slow starvation which their misdeeds might merit. For here the elective magistracies, the Councils of Twelve and Two-hundred, in each of which a third were nobles, the Mayor and the President of the Criminal Court found ready obedience, whereas the Austrian Prince's magistrates and police were totally inadequate to curb the lawless populace. The Viennese churches were handsome and well appointed, the clergy numerous and wealthy. In those of Bâle Aeneas missed the monumental statues of the dead and the religious pictures universal in Italy, but the stained glass was beautiful, and the walls were enlivened by coats of arms. High pews are not, as is often thought, a product of the Reformation. Ladies and their maids ensconced themselves in pews the height of which was regulated by rank. When the congregation stood, only the head of a great lady could be seen, while a plebeian was visible from the waist upwards. When sitting or kneeling they watched the progress of the service through little windows in the panelling. To one institution alone in Vienna does Aeneas give unstinted praise—to the House of Mercy, where fallen women sang hymns in German. If they fell away they were drowned in the Danube, but lapses were almost unknown, and the girls stood in excellent repute. The easy-going life of

comfortable Bâle with its snug rooms and cosy pews was, to judge by Aeneas' own experiences, not sufficiently strenuous to develop penitence.

The above passages bear mainly on Aeneas' study of national characteristics, but he also had, to an unusual extent for that age, a perception for national scenery which is at once geographical and aesthetic. Thus not only does he hold an honoured place in the science of geography, but in the art of word-painting. Among many instances of this art may be cited his description of the banks of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne, the like of which for jocund beauty the whole world cannot shew ; of Genoa rising from the quay of its curving harbour up narrow footways bordered by lofty marble palaces to the hill-top ; of the deserted shore of Ostia or the wooded heights of Subiaco, peopled by anchorites ; of the view over Southern Tuscany from Monte Amiata, favourite scene of his summer sojourning.

Versatile as he was, Aeneas could adapt his style to rapid narrative no less than to leisurely description, and the narrative is often spiced with humour. Examples of this are his accounts of a quarrel in the Council of Bâle, of his own election as Pope, and better still of the coronation of the anti-Pope Felix V, or, in a lighter vein, of the four-oared boat-race on the lake of Bolsena, or the races for horses, donkeys, men and boys at Pienza, in honour of the dedication of the new cathedral. But the passage which is deservedly most often quoted is that which portrays the excursions and alarms of a night on the Anglo-Scottish border. Aeneas had crossed the Tweed with his guide, and sat down to dinner in a cottage with the owner and the parish priest. The women from a neighbouring village flocked in, and stared at the stranger as Italians would at an Indian or Ethiopian. They catechized the priest as to what country he belonged to, what his intentions were, and whether he was a Christian. There was plenty of chicken and goose, but no bread or wine. Aeneas had thoughtfully brought a small supply of both, and this increased the curiosity, for the natives had never seen white bread or

wine. The men, after touching the one and smelling the other, made him divide his stores among the women who were with child. After a long supper the priest, the men and the children took their leave, and trooped off to a distant tower for fear of a raid by the Scots at ebb of tide. All Aeneas' prayers could not induce them to take him with them, nor were they gallant enough to take the ladies, though these were good-looking girls and handsome young married women; they believed that the Scots would do them no harm, for they did not regard violation as any harm. So some hundred women sat round the fire throughout the night, chattering with the guide and cleaning hemp. Suddenly there was a barking of dogs and a cackling of geese. The women fled in all directions, and the guide took to his heels. Aeneas thought it wiser to lie still in the straw and await events, for if he ran out he would be at the mercy of the first comer. The anxious moment was soon over, for the women and guide came back with the news that it was friends and not foes that had arrived.

This passage is expressive of the feeling for time and movement which is natural to an impressionable nature. It was written down in the Commentaries long after the event, but it is clear that the picture had never faded from the writer's mind. This gift is rare among the humanist writers of the early Renaissance; there is, indeed, a certain modernity about it, a proleptic echo of De Quincey.

It will have been realized from this sketch of the career and writings of Aeneas that he was never merely a man of letters. Both before and after his pontificate he led an adventurous or an active life. He has been called the Italian Special Correspondent in Germany, and this phrase happily expresses for his earlier period the conjunction of life and letters. Yet his memory has survived, not for what he did but for what he wrote, or rather, it should be said, for what he was. He still lives, and is likely to live, because he has given such vivid expression to his own impressionability, because he is the embodiment of the spirit of autobiography.

E. ARMSTRONG.

ART. VII.—'IN QUEST OF JOY': A FRENCH STUDY IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION.

1. *Vers la Joie : Ames païennes, âmes chrétiennes.* Par LUCIE FÉLIX-FAURE GOYAU. (Paris : Perrin et Cie. 1907.)
2. *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology.* By J. W. MACKAIL. New Edition, revised throughout. (London : Longmans, Green, and Co. 1906.)
3. *The Poetical Works of Christina Georgina Rossetti.* With Memoir and Notes, etc. By W. M. ROSSETTI. (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1904.)
4. *Eugénie de Guérin : Journal et Fragments.* (Paris : Lecoffre. 1863.)
5. *St. Catherine of Siena.* By E. G. GARDNER. (London : J. M. Dent. 1907.)
6. *The Story of My Heart.* By RICHARD JEFFERIES. 'Silver Library.' (London : Longmans, Green, and Co.)
7. *Marius the Epicurean and Gaston Latour.* By WALTER PATER. (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd.)

MADAME GOYAU has written a very charming book, if not to our mind a very artistically constructed one. It describes for us the sadnesses of pagan souls as read from their epitaphs : the joys of the Christian as exemplified in the lives of Christina Rossetti, Eugénie de Guérin, and St. Catharine of Siena. It is one of those pleasant books which perhaps only France produces—bright as the pages of a romance and yet instinct with the deep things of the soul and of humanity. The author has already tried her literary wings in a study of John Henry Newman which shews her knowledge of English thought. It is therefore no surprise in this her latest work to meet our own Christina Rossetti side by side with Eugénie de Guérin of Southern France and St. Catharine of Italy, and to find that the English mind is as clearly and successfully diagnosed as that of Madame Goyau's own countrywoman or of the Italian saint. There is indeed an easy familiarity with English literature which is almost surprising, but which naturally

deepens the sympathy between the author and the English reader. Matthew Arnold, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Emerson, Keats, the Brontës, Keble, Dr. Pusey, Swinburne, are all touched upon with the easy handling of one who knows them well.

The book divides itself into two parts—a study of the sadnesses of the pagan soul and the brighter griefs of the Christian. The first part shews Madame Goyau's intimate knowledge of the classics as literature. We do not indeed discover if she is a scholar in the sense of having a knowledge of the original, but she has drunk deeply of the spirit of the classical world, of its thought and of its poetry. We cannot, it is true, help regretting that in some of the earlier chapters, as in a very interesting one upon 'Les Lécythes Blancs,' she had not given us more references; but this is a minor blemish and does not mar the purpose for which she quotes these inscriptions, still warm with human tears. 'What they weep,' she tells us, 'is always the flight of life, of this cruel life (Aristotle declares that the things of humanity can only excite two feelings: terror and pity), this life, cruel but beloved. In this sad but harmonious concert the note of the soul is wanting—the unknown soul waiting its revelation of the unknown God.'¹ Many of the epitaphs which she quotes are pathetic and poetical with the pathos and the poetry of deep grief. 'Epitaphs and funeral urns have a nostalgic charm. This poor little shivering bare thing that a soul then seems to be murmurs a vague lament, deadened by the tomb.'² Something of the indefinable fascination of the forlorn *columbaria* among the fresh roses of an Italian spring hovers around these chapters of Madame Goyau on epitaphs and *lecythi*, or funeral urns. She writes perhaps with more of feminine grace than of the thoroughness of an investigator or antiquarian, but she leads our thoughts into some forgotten yet deeply interesting paths, challenges our curiosity by hints, for they are scarcely more, at the fulness of the subject, and makes us wish to know more of the literature of it.

¹ *Vers la Joie*, p. 38.

² *Ibid.* p. 31.

'By the sea shore, by the wayside, under the myrtles and under the oleanders, their friends have laid them with the rites which are shewn to us in the drawings sketched on the vases in such harmonious lines. They have a heart-rending melancholy, these Greek vases: they have too the slender grace of beautiful lilies: they spread out as though they were flowers, and they are indeed the delicious, the sad flowers of the best period of ancient art. . . . Each one tells a story of grief, a story of a very old human grief, grief transformed by art, one of which the expression never wounds the laws of rhythm. . . .'¹

Many of the epitaphs may well repay quotation, for they are not wanting in beauty of thought, although the thought be heathen.

'Hades, inexorable and inflexible, why hast thou deprived the tiny Calleschros of life? Without doubt the child will be an amusement in the dwellings of Persephone, but in his home he leaves bitter grief.'²

'Sailors, why have you buried me near the sea? Far, far from it should you have raised the tomb of the poor shipwrecked man. I shiver at the noise of the waves which caused my death. But yet safety and joy be to you who had pity on poor Nicetas.'³

'The little girl is gone before the time, in her seventh year, towards Hades whither she precedes the many companions of her own age, desiring, unhappy one, to see again her little brother of twenty months, a little infant who had known unpitiful death. Alas, Pesisteris, mark for affliction, how many hard trials a god is always ready to lay upon men!'⁴

To those who wish to go deeper into the subject of the Greek epitaphs than the limits of Madame Goyau's work enabled her to do, we recommend the volume by the Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford as one of great interest apart from its value to the Greek scholar. In the introduction Mr. Mackail sums up the spirit of the funeral epigrams of Greece, their masterly condensation, their passion or their lassitude veiled often in irony.

'For over all life,' he writes, 'there lay a shadow.'⁵ . . .

¹ *Vers la Joie*, pp. 31-32.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 39.

² *Ibid.* p. 38.

³ *Ibid.* p. 41.

⁵ *Select Epigrams*, p. 64.

"Waiting to see the end" as it always did, the Greek spirit pronounced upon the end when it came with a swiftness, a tact, a certitude that leave all other language behind. For although Latin and not Greek is pre-eminently and without rival the proper and, one might almost say, the native language of monumental inscription, yet the little difference that fills inscriptions with imagination and beauty, and will not be content short of poetry, is in the Greek temper alone.¹ . . . But the Greek mind here as elsewhere came more directly than any other face to face with the truth of things, and the Greek genius kindled before the vision of life and death into a clearer flame. The sepulchral reliefs shew us many aspects of death; in all of the best period there is a common note, mingled of a grave tenderness, simplicity, and reserve. The quiet figures there take leave of one another with the same grace that their life had shewn. There is none of the horror of darkness, none of the ugliness of dying; with calm faces and undisordered raiment they rise from their seats and take the last farewell. But the sepulchral verses shew us more clearly the grief that lay beneath the quiet lines of the marble and the smooth cadence of the couplets. They cover and fill the whole range of emotion: household grief, and pain for the dead baby or the drowned lover, and the bitter parting of wife and husband, and the chill of distance and the doubt of the unknown nether world; thoughts of the bright and brief space of life, and the merciless continuity of nature, and the resolution of body and soul into the elements from which they came; and the uselessness of Death's impatience, and the bitter cry of a life gone like spilt water; and again, comfort out of the grave, perpetual placidity, "holy sleep," and earth's gratitude to her children; and beyond all, dimly and lightly drawn, the flowery meadows of Persephone, the great simplicity and rest of the other world, and far away a shadowy and beautiful country to which later men were to give the name of Heaven.'²

We have quoted this passage at length, for it is one which almost exhausts the whole range of the Greek funeral epigram; but before we close Mr. Mackail's book we should like to quote one or more of the couplets as being, we think, even more interesting than the many interesting ones given by Madame Goyau, and if possible illustrating her line of

¹ *Select Epigrams*, p. 68.

² *Ibid.* p. 69.

thought more forcibly than those which she has chosen. What, for example, can equal the profound hopelessness of this from Callimachus on Charidas of Cyrene?

'Does Charidas in truth sleep beneath thee? If thou meanest the son of Arimmas of Cyrene, beneath me. O Charidas, what of the under world? Great darkness. And what of the resurrection? A lie. And Pluto? A fable; we perish utterly.'¹

And the following are perhaps more striking than any that Madame Goyau has quoted.

ON A SAILOR DROWNED IN HARBOUR.

Antipater of Sidon.

'Everywhere the sea is the sea; why idly blame we the Cyclades or the narrow wave of Helle and the Needles? in vain have they their fame; or why when I had escaped them did the harbour of Scarphe overwhelm me? Pray whoso will for a fair passage home; that the sea's way is the sea, Aristagoras knows who is buried here.'²

ON A BABY.

Author Unknown.

'Me a baby that was just tasting life heaven snatched away, I know not whether for good or for evil; insatiable Death, why hast thou snatched me cruelly in infancy? Why hurriest thou? Are we not all thine in the end?'³

DUSTY DEATH.

Author Unknown.

'Earth and Birth-Goddess, thou who didst bear me and thou who coverest, farewell; I have accomplished the course between you, and I go, not discerning whither I shall travel; for I know not either whose or who I am, or whence I came to you.'⁴

These and many more, in a book which will be enjoyed by every cultured reader, illustrate Madame Goyau's position; and Mr. Mackail's words on sepulchral reliefs

¹ *Select Epigrams*, p. 171.

³ *Ibid.* p. 160.

² *Ibid.* p. 158.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 263.

might with equal truth be applied to the drawings on the *lecythi* with which most lovers of Greek art are familiar in the British Museum. The date of these with coloured drawings on a white ground ('*Les Lécythes Blancs*') is from 400 to 500 B.C., and, considering this, the modernity of the drawing is astonishing. Expression, grace, dignity, life, are given in a few unerring lines, concise as the couplets of the funeral epigrams and as full of charm.

Madame Goyau has taken her illustrations of the sadness of the heathen world from the inscriptions on the funeral urns of Attica: she might have widened her outlook and perhaps gained in interest. For what can equal the passionate defiant irony of the familiar lines on a tomb now in the Lateran Museum at Rome?

'Evasi, effugi: spes et fortuna valete:
Nil mihi vobiscum: ludificate alios.'

'I have escaped: I have fled away: hope and fortune farewell:
I have nothing to do with you: make sport of others.'¹

An echo surely of

'nec tibi earum
Iam desiderium rerum super insidet una.'²

Or of

'Why need one grieve for this? the labour's past,
Aye and so past that they who are in their graves
Care now for naught: not e'en for rising up.'³

And if we need any proof that 'the worship of sorrow' was not far away from the thoughts of both Greek and Roman people, we shall find it in their literature as well as on their funeral urns.

Perhaps too, if this line of thought had been pursued, we might find in Vergil

'Stretching forth hands of longing towards the further shore'
a step towards the hopes of Christianity.

¹ Quoted in J. H. Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. 276. (A. and C. Black. 1892.)

² Lucretius, iii. 900.

³ Aesch. *Agam.*, Herald's speech.

From the heathen world and its sadnesses Madame Goyau turns to the second part of her theme—Christian joy. She begins this portion by a study of Christina Rossetti in her English village, and goes on to Eugénie de Guérin among the spacious flats of Languedoc and to St. Catharine among the Umbrian hills. But we may perhaps stay to ask, Might she not have found some souls midway between the pagan waiting for the light and the Christian so assured of it? Some souls in a Christian country who feel

‘ I shall see Him but not now,
I shall behold Him but not nigh ’ :

who look for something, as they believe, more beautiful than revelation, though they cannot shape their beliefs into form; men to whom ‘dubitation is nothing less than a religious duty or service’?

There come to mind two souls who in our own day sought for joy as Madame Goyau conceives the pagan sought, and did not find, as she conceives the more saintly women of whom she writes sought and found—souls who sought, and who among us can say whether they found? But they at least occupy a midway position between the two classes, and might serve to bridge over what seems to us the mental chasm in this yet charming book.

Surely Richard Jefferies stands out among the souls who set out on the quest of joy, and that quest has been written for us in the mournful, the unsatisfying and yet fascinating ‘Story of My Heart.’ In that book, to use his own words, he claims ‘to have erased from his mind the traditions and learning of the past ages,’ and freed from the trammels of philosophy and revelation he endeavours to wrest from the universe its secrets. He is unhappy in his lot: ill-health, ‘the insults which are showered on poverty, long struggle of labour, the heavy pressure of circumstances, the unhappiness,’ from all these he endeavours to escape by merging his individuality—his suffering individuality—in that of the great universe: the earth, the wandering air, the sea. He wants the strength,

the mystery, the glory of them to become part of himself, or that he may become part of them.

' . . . I spoke in my soul to the earth, the sun, the air, the distant sea far beyond sight. I thought of the earth's firmness, I felt it bear me up ; through the grassy couch there came an influence as if I could feel the great earth speaking to me. I thought of the wandering air—its pureness, which is its beauty ; the air touched me and gave me something of itself. I spoke to the sea . . . I desired to have its strength, its mystery, its glory. Then I addressed the sun, desiring the soul equivalent of his life and brilliance, his endurance and unwearied race. I turned to the blue heaven over, gazing into its depth, inhaling its exquisite colour and sweetness. The rich blue of the unattainable flower of the sky drew my heart towards it, and there it rested, for pure colour is rest of heart. By all these I prayed ; I felt an emotion of the soul beyond all definition ; prayer is a puny thing to it and the word is a rude sign to the feeling, but I know no other.'

Again and again in this exquisite monologue we are confronted by the feeling that, use what words he will, express it how he will, it is God he is feeling after, God he is worshipping in that constant soul-prayer of which he speaks and which he conceives is addressed to something higher than the God of other men's conceptions. And when, as so often happens, he rebels against the limitations of words, is it not that he has unconsciously reached the realm of unspeakable things which it is not possible for man to utter because he does not know the language of that heavenly country ? From the limitations of a suffering life he found joy in the great universe and the soul ever present in that universe : in, though he would not so label it, the Immanence of God. And this we say while remembering that he seems to have failed entirely to appreciate any side of Christianity ; that he never mentions either it or its Founder in the story of his heart : his ideal man is the 'divine Julius,' and he appears to have none other.

Another link in the chain of searchers after joy, of those at least whose life-histories have been revealed to us, is one whose name comes as a sharp contrast to Richard Jefferies. For while Jefferies had erased from his mind

tradition, philosophy, revelation, had refused to accept other men's values of things and, as he believed, found rest and joy in that passionate love of nature and of some to him unknown force running through the universe with no touch of humanity in it, Pater surely clung curiously to forms and ordered beliefs and, incapable of passion, pathetically hoped that there might be a heart even as ours 'behind this vain show of things.' It was surely the beauty of Christianity which was drawing him throughout his quiet life, a life with no events but those of his mental world to mark it; and while Jefferies' religion is a whirlwind of passion, a mysticism beyond mysticism, too mystic even for the form of a deity, to Pater it is the serenity of Christianity which appeals, and its outward symbols are to him not without their grace. For is it Marius or is it the author of Marius who feels

'As for himself, the natural soul of worship in him had been satisfied as never before. He felt as he left that place that he must often hereafter experience a longing memory, a kind of thirst for all that over again'?

And is it Marius or is it the author who is so keenly alive to the beauty of Christianity as reflected in the faces of the Christians

'As if some profound correction and regeneration of the body by the spirit had been begun and already gone a great way; the countenances of the men, women, and children had a brightness upon them which he could fancy reflected upon himself, an amenity, a mystic amiability and unction'?

And surely, when we come to Gaston Latour and find, or think we find, another Marius or another Pater over again, the impression of this rest in ordered rites is strengthened.

'It was like a stream of water crossing unexpectedly a dusty way, *Mirabilia testimonia tua*! In psalm and antiphon inexhaustibly fresh, the soul seemed to be taking refuge at that undevout hour from the sordid languor and the mean business of men's lives in contemplation of the unfaltering vigour of the divine righteousness, which had still those who sought it not only watchful in the night but alert in the drowsy afternoon.'

It was the beauty of holiness in ordered form and commandment which attracted this man and wherein he found his joy, as in that story (is it too well known?) of an undergraduate asking him after a lecture or discussion, 'But why then, Mr. Pater, should we be good?' and receiving the dreamy, far-away reply, 'Because it is so beautiful!' And may we not sum up his religious experience in his own words, believing that he found joy in religion, in haunting its hallowed scenes, its ordered services, and in the whole 'beauty,' moral or liturgical, 'of holiness'?

'It is philosophical, doubtless,' he wrote, in a review of 'Robert Elsmere,' 'and a duty to intellect to recognize our doubts, to locate them, perhaps to give them practical effect. It may also be a moral duty to do this. But then there is also a large class of minds which cannot be sure it' [the sacred story] 'is false—minds of very various degrees of conscientiousness and intellectual power, up to the highest. They will think those who are quite sure it is false, unphilosophical through lack of doubt. For their part, they make allowance in their scheme of life for a great possibility, and with some of them that bare concession of possibility (the subject of it being what it is) becomes the most important fact in the world. The recognition of it straightway opens wide the door to hope and love; and such persons are, as we fancy they always will be, the nucleus of a Church. Their peculiar phase of doubt, of philosophic uncertainty has been the secret of millions of good Christians, of multitudes of country priests.'

We believe Pater was among this great number, and that the door of hope and love which this attitude of mind opened for him led him into peace.

But to return to the three personalities which Madame Goyau has chosen to study—Christina Rossetti, Eugénie de Guérin, and St. Catharine of Siena. This arrangement is, we see, in order of merit, for the devout Anglican's spiritual life is to Madame Goyau—but always without bitterness—'la nostalgie d'une conscience exilée': Eugénie de Guérin's is 'la sérénité sous le clocher': St. Catharine's 'la joie ardente' of assured sanctity.

And while the writer is just towards Anglicanism

if she cannot be altogether sympathetic with it, she shews a knowledge of its claims which must be almost unique in her own country and which is very far from universal even in this. Madame Goyau, very naturally perhaps, sees in Christina Rossetti's spiritual limitations the limitations of Anglicanism, and does not, we venture to think, give enough weight to the limitations, always so strong, of natural temperament. 'The Catholic Eugénie,' she writes, 'finds in her Church the peaceable and assured possession of the Sacraments: the Anglican Christina belongs to a group of souls which are trying to regain them. Much nearer to Catholicism than to Protestantism, she however ignores the note of *épanouissement catholique*.' ¹ And, more severe indictment,

'No one has such pity as she has for the dead . . . her conception of death seems sometimes to approach that of Homer when he puts into the mouth of Achilles this sad phrase, "I would rather be the lowest labourer than to reign in the kingdom of the dead." Some of the poems of this Anglican are *navrants* and delicious as are the beautiful funeral urns of Attica. Her faith, so profound, is frozen in the face of death! Eugénie de Guérin, crushed by the loss of a brother, shews herself more bathed in supernatural light and sees with greater serenity a dawn beyond the grave.' ²

But, while ignoring limitations of temperament, has not Madame Goyau unconsciously laid her hand on another factor in Eugénie de Guérin's larger joyousness, her French nature? 'The Frenchwoman,' she writes, 'has not less *ennui* than the Englishwoman, but she is a compatriot of Madame de Sévigné: her melancholy smiles.'

The sketch of Christina Rossetti, however, in spite of what seems to us to be a mistake, is complete although condensed. Nothing is forgotten: her religious fervour which was the foundation of her life, her devotion to her mother, her love for wild things, her handling of them in her poetry 'sometimes as if they were human, sometimes as if they were fairies,' her expression of herself in her verse

¹ *Vers la Joie*, p. 93.

² *Ibid.* pp. 92-93.

but always with the 'voile de son cœur' which makes the expression more attractive, 'la douleur paisable' of her troubled days. Madame Goyau, with the insight of a true critic, seizes on Christina's few words on the poor little dead mouse as the keynote of her after poetry. 'My first experience of death dates from my first infancy. . . . The dead mouse awoke my sympathy—I took it and buried it comfortably on a bed of moss, and I cherished the remembrance of this resting-place.'¹ Many children have done the same, but few have grown up to write the poetry of death as she wrote it. The subject inspires her finest lines: the finest perhaps of all are to be found in the sonnet 'Remember,' written in 1849:

'For if the darkness and corruption leave
A vestige of the thoughts that once I had,
Better by far you should forget and smile
Than that you should remember and be sad.'

Consciously or unconsciously Christina Rossetti must have had Shakespeare's sonnet in her mind as she wrote:

' . . . I love you so,
That I in your sweet thoughts would be forgot
If thinking on me then should make you woe.'

Her treatment of the subject is a curious study in psychology. As a rule, in spite of her deep spirituality, she does not rise beyond the spirit of the pagan epitaphs: in other moods there is a reminiscence of the feeling of the old ballad world of three hundred years ago; the reappearance in the world of men of the lost ones and their return not to the spirit world but to the grave. Among the examples of the pagan spirit we may quote:

'Underneath the growing grass

There a very little girth
Can hold what once the earth
Seemed too narrow to contain'

¹ *Vers la Joie*, p. 74.

from 'The Bourne,' or the still more beautiful 'A Peal of Bells':

'Be still, your music is not sweet,—
There is no music more for him.
His lights are out, his feast is done:

My blood is chill, his blood is cold;
His death is full, and mine begun.'

The ballad spirit occurs even more frequently. 'The Poor Ghost' is the finest illustration of it, with the memorable lines:

'You know the old, whilst I know the new:
But to-morrow you shall know this too.'

Repeatedly too the thought of death as a sleep, as in 'Life and Death,' 'Asleep from risk, asleep from pain,' or in the sonnet 'Rest':

'Darkness more clear than noonday holdeth her,
Silence, more musical than any song;
Even her very heart hath ceased to stir.
Until the morning of eternity
Her rest shall not begin nor end, but be;
And when she wakes she will not think it long.'

We have given these quotations at length because we think they establish the justice of Madame Goyau's position as to Christina Rossetti's *poetry* on immortality—we do not say her *thought*, for we believe that was thoroughly Christian—where death continually seems to bound her view.

When we turn to Eugénie de Guérin as sketched in Madame Goyau's pages, we have the same delicate and yet luminous insight into souls and their surroundings, and into that 'little world of other days,' that world of 'the 'thirties' which now seems so long ago. Perhaps no one can again touch Eugénie with a finer instinct: perhaps (and our admiration for this pale faint shadow among authors makes us wish it might be otherwise) the last word has now been said on this brother and sister who for half a century 'have shone together, *sidera lucida*,' in the world of literature,

known to one section of the public by Matthew Arnold's appreciation, to another from the *Journal* itself.

The year 1905 saw the centenary of Eugénie's birth, and the *Mercure de France* was one of the few papers which contained a notice of what is appropriately called 'Un centenaire oublié.' This may not mean that the *Journal* is no longer read, but that the author is lost in her work. She is hardly a personality. She is rather some sweet white remembrance, something enskied, ensainted, one whose individuality we feel but whom we cannot see. Nor does Lamartine's little sketch of her quoted in the *Mercure* do much to bring her nearer to us. He tells us she was not pretty in the ordinary sense of the word, but there was genius in her eyes, goodness in the expression of her mouth: the shape of her face was delicate and 'harmonious,' her figure slight and graceful, and her walk was as lively and rapid as was the flow of her thought.

No portrait of her seems to exist, her home is perhaps more present to us than herself. Cayla lives if she who has made it live seems hidden from us. Among the hills of the Auvergne, under the brilliant sky of the south, those 'larges et libérales effusions de lumière' which Maurice loved, by the side of the Moulinasse stream and to the murmur of its waters, the *Journal* was mainly written, and it has made us know and love the place. The road to Cahuzac bordered with hawthorn and with the ruddy stems and purple-red flowers of a Judas-tree proclaiming that we are in the south, the little forlorn church where she 'left so many miseries,' the white house of Cayla so poorly furnished, but where great thoughts were thought, words that live were written. It is like some great French convent with its bare rooms, its badly kept garden sweet with the large dark lilacs of the south, and Eugénie's rounds in the village are the rounds of a sister of mercy. Yet strangely enough to us with our scientific charity, while she describes the misery of some peasant home, the mud floor, the rain dripping through the roof, the sick woman lying on some hemp spread over her potatoes, which she thus preserves from the frost, no remedy for this state of

things seems to suggest itself to her, nor does the thought that it need not and ought not to exist enter her mind. 'The poor people are in cabins like the animals in the stable. The bad air poisons them. On my return to Cayla I found myself as in a palace compared to this house!' Yet this was a really holy and charitable soul! Can we wonder there had been a French Revolution when its echoes were unable to reach even such an one as Eugénie?

Madame Goyau is fully alive to the beauties of the *Journal*. She sees in it the consecration of monotony, of those grey lives against which the world of to-day revolts. With great beauty and at some length she has shewn how the artistic soul of Eugénie, deprived of all contact with the world of art, found food in her wilderness.

'Her soul is a beautiful flower of spontaneous art enclosed in an old garden of French culture.¹ . . . She is better than learned, she is cultivated with all the culture of her race in the best sense of this term and according to the aspirations of her original nature. *Ce qu'elle en ignore, elle le devine.*'²

She has seen none of the great pictures of the world, but she looks out on her lonely country and sees pictures there. The *Journal* runs over with the wealth of descriptions of nature. She has no knowledge of music, of opera, of composers, but she finds music, as she has found pictures, all around her.

'She gathers into her the shadows, the rays of sunshine, the perfumes, the caressing breeze, the turmoil of the storm, the whispers of the rain, the nightingale's song. This is her painting, this is her music, hers who has none other to see, none other to hear.'³

'We believe that in nature Maurice heard chiefly Beethoven, Eugénie Mozart. To her there is "a tiny spirit which sings in the fire." Then "sound is inspiring, I know this by the sounds of the country, so light, so airy, so unexpected, so indefinite, and having such a great effect on the soul." Certainly, musical training was not there; but in listening to the faint sounds of the country the soul of Eugénie felt all the delicious joys of great art. On this subject the *Journal* is full of charming notations: there is

¹ P. 212.² P. 213.³ P. 213.

the whistle of a shepherd far away in the valley, the gaiety of two little children who are gathering faggots, the happiness of listening to a blackbird singing, the song of a carter accompanying the rolling of his cart-wheels: "Qui n'entend jamais rien écoute le bruit quel qu'il soit." There is in this phrase of Eugénie a nostalgia of music which is worth all the pretended knowledge of music. She tastes deeply of the harmonies of Racine, of Lamartine, of André Chénier. At one period, every evening, she is enchanted to read a *harmony* of Lamartine's.¹

To our minds this sketch of Eugénie de Guérin is the finest in the book. We venture to make two more extracts from it as shewing how Madame Goyau has made the life in that forlorn castle her own:

'She takes in sounds more significant and more tragic than the airy and vague sounds of the country. It is this that transforms her into a sister of Pascal, anxious as he is: le son du cercueil au fond de la tombe, ce bruit, le *dernier de l'homme*. At this point the *Journal* has as touching beauty as Shakespeare or as the famous thought: *en voilà pour jamais*. The clock seems to her a kind of eternity, the clock which has sounded so many hours of her life, the happiest those when she did not hear them. . . .'²

And once again:

'Art is a revelation of the soul of beings and of things, of their mysterious and sacred essence. Eugénie marvellously reflects her soul and the essence of her life. She gives us the illusion that we see one by one her monotonous days defile past us, many of which seem as empty as the crystal urns which only contain light. Oh these days, these long days which give to her life their colourless form! There is a magic in certain little phrases which shew their emptiness and their silence. "A poor man passed in the distance." This is the account of one of these days. As in the sunset, the shadow of this mendicant lengthens and again lengthens itself in this solitary thought. "Un pauvre a passé de loin." It takes the solemnity of one of those distant meetings between ships which salute each other on the wide ocean. And if we had the leisure to think of it, this always would seem to us a great thing, one human destiny passing across the horizon of another. Ships on the deep know it well,

¹ P. 215.

² Pp. 215, 216.

Eugénie knew it also. Many ignore these truths of solitude which, without doubt, are the most profound. The *Journal* says again, "Nothing has happened but the song of the birds" or the "song of the grasshoppers," or the "sound of the flails." If art is expression, one must see that there is much art, although unconscious, in these words which give the essence of a day! Once even, Eugénie writes "Nothing." This "Nothing" written by her who found worlds in a drop of water, centuries of dreams in a moment, this "Nothing" makes us shudder. It was a day like others, it had its sun or its rain, its blue sky or its clouds, but it had neither poor creatures on their journey, nor grating of cart on the road, nor whistle of blackbird, nor song of shepherd. The clocks, far or near, were they then stopped: the bells of the neighbourhood, had they remained dumb? All these speak, all these sing constantly in the prose of Eugénie, and one day she can write "Nothing"! What does that "Nothing" mean? Is it an emptiness? A fulness?'¹

We may sum up this notice of a charming sketch with words which bring us back to the point from which we started—that the life of Eugénie in her old castle in that little village of Languedoc was the ennobling of dulness. She has shewn us, and Madame Goyau has impressed the truth afresh upon our minds, that such days may be made beautiful by the Christian soul. And Madame Goyau has not made us think that Eugénie's days, because monotonous, were useless. She has done full justice to her kindness to the poor of her village and has touched lightly on her inability even to guess at scientific methods of dealing with the problems of poverty. She sums it up in words which may sound strange in these days, but which express at heart a part of the truth:

'The homely charity of Eugénie will no longer be in fashion: we shall need complicated organizations and noisy appeals for the help of our brethren. The world is transforming itself. The future will be beautiful perhaps. Some old ideas will have no more weight than the leaves of autumn in the storm, but others will be stretching out their roots and the new experiences of humanity will perhaps unfold to men new and more profound reasons for attaching themselves to old things.'²

¹ Pp. 218, 219.

² Pp. 235-36.

But, as Matthew Arnold says in contemplating this bygone world of Eugénie's, we must be careful not to admire in it that by which men and nations die but that by which they live—not the narrow hopeless outlook on human wrongs and human ills, but the sweet spirituality and the artistic spirit which made her wilderness blossom as a rose.

The sketch of Catharine of Siena with which the volume concludes is interesting in its way. Madame Goyau has the art of imprisoning the atmosphere of the lives of which she writes. She has called up before us the spacious Languedoc country, its wide cornfields, its villages 'naïfs, agenouillés autour de leur clochers et ses carrefours anciens que rassure un Calvaire béni,' and now we find ourselves in the narrow steep streets among the grey olives and dark hills of Umbria. The 'grand secret de joie qui se cachait dans les Catacombes s'épanouit,' says Madame Goyau, 'au moyen âge en floraison mystique.' It reaches its zenith in the joyous soul of St. Francis, 'half nightingale, half angel,' and of St. Catharine of Siena. If Christina Rossetti is a lesson of sweet patience, Eugénie de Guérin of peace, St. Catharine is the type of joy in suffering and has her place with St. Francis the joyous saint.

Madame Goyau dwells perhaps more on the spiritual side of St. Catharine than on her 'two beautiful dreams of a reformed Church and peace in Italy.' It is without doubt because her aims were nobly political in an age when politics were looked upon as outside a woman's sphere and when they were woefully misunderstood by men, that Catharine seems to us to-day the remarkable personality which she was. Critical inquiry may, and indeed must, strike off every miracle from her life, but the greatest miracle of all remains—her holy and beautiful life and her quick intuition into the needs of her age.

She is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable characters that have impressed themselves on the history of Western Christianity. Her astonishing spiritual vitality is surely almost without parallel: her intellectual capacity was as astonishing. And what attracts us most to-day is

the note of modernity about her life. First, and this subject need not detain us long, her so-called miracles of healing bear a very close resemblance to the cures of what its votaries to-day call 'higher thought.' And next, Madame Goyau points out how Catharine's writings contain the rough outline of a sociology, of that 'solidarity' which is to-day in all men's mouths.

'It was very easy to Me, the Saviour declared to her, to give to each what was useful for his soul and body; but I have wished that all men should have need of each other that they may thus become the ministers and dispensers of the gifts which they have received from Me. Whether a man wishes it or no he is obliged to exercise charity towards his neighbour; only if this charity is not exercised from love to Me, it is of no value in the plan of grace. . . . There are many states of life in My house and love is the only thing that I ask of you; for it is in loving Me that you love your neighbour, and he who loves his neighbour fulfils the law: whosoever has love gives with good will to his neighbour all the service that he can render to him.'

'The principle of solidarity is revealed to her here,' continues Madame Goyau, 'but it serves as a step to rise to the infinitely higher doctrine of love.'¹

Works on St. Catharine of Siena seem perennial. The most exhaustive monograph we have seen is that of Mr. Gardner. Not the least useful portion of that work is the preface. It proves very conclusively that St. Catharine was fortunate in her biographers, and their number is a testimony to her moral and intellectual greatness. In 1384, only four years after Catharine's death, Raimondo delle Vigne of Capua began his *Vita* known as the *Legenda*. Next came the 'Collection of testimonies and letters' drawn up between 1411 and 1413 which 'are preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale of Siena and in the Biblioteca Casanatense of Rome.' This was followed by the *Libellus de supplemento legendae prolixae beatae Catharinae de Senis* by Tommaso Caffarini about 1414, 'a kind of appendix or supplement to' Raimondo's *Legenda*, and existing only in a fifteenth-century MS. also in the Biblioteca

¹ P. 257.

Communale of Siena and in a copy made in 1706 in the Biblioteca Casanatense of Rome. These are the chief original sources to which Mr. Gardner has gone for his facts, but the tide of writings on St. Catharine which set in four years after her death has never ebbed through the centuries, and this, its latest English wave, is, as we have said, almost exhaustive. The appendix contains eight hitherto unpublished letters of the saint, and there is also a bibliography, which is of untold value to those who wish to pursue the subject and know what Italy thought, and thinks, of St. Catharine.

The real value, the real strength of Catharine's warfare is summed up in Mr. Gardner's last words, with which we, too, conclude our study of Madame Goyau's work.

'When Tommaso Caffarini died in 1434,' he writes, 'the last of Catharine's spiritual family had joined her again. But, already, the movement that she had initiated had come to an end to be renewed half a century later, in another form, and without success, by Fra Girolamo Savonarola on the one hand, on the other, in the mystical sacrifice of those women clad in the habit she had worn and bearing the same marks of Christ's passion on their members, Lucia of Narni, Osanna of Mantua, Colomba of Rieti, who attempted to imitate her work among the corrupt courts of the Renaissance. Ostensibly, Catharine's labour had failed. A century after her death, the state of her beloved Italy was more deplorable than when she had departed from it, the Papacy immeasurably more corrupt than it had been in the darkest days of the Schism, and a far greater division, and more permanent in the Church was about to open. But the true value of the work to which the whole power of a human soul had been devoted cannot, any more than the lasting result of any great or small religious movement, thus be measured, for, by its very nature, it is not manifested in outward and visible effects; its most perfect flowers and fruits throughout the ages are in the invisible garden of the spirit, grown to be gathered only by Him who feedeth among the lilies.'¹

¹ *St. Catharine of Siena*, p. 405.

ART. VIII.—LOLLARDY AND THE REFORMATION.

1. *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*. By JAMES GAIRDNER, C.B. Two Volumes. (London: Macmillan and Co. 1908.)
2. *Reginald Pecock's Book of Faith*. Edited by J. L. MORISON, M.A. (Glasgow: Maclehose and Sons. 1909.)
3. *Typical English Churchmen*, Series II. No. 1. *Wyclif*. By J. N. FIGGIS, LITT.D. (London: S.P.C.K., for the Church Historical Society. 1909.)
4. *Wyclif's Works*. (London: Published for the Wyclif Society by Trübner and Co.)
5. *Les Origines de la Réforme*. By P. IMBART DE LA TOUR. Two Volumes. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1908, 1909.)
6. *Les Origines du Schisme Anglican*. By J. TRÉSALE. (Paris: Gabalda et Cie. 1908.)

FROM whatever point of view it is regarded, the movement towards the reform of the Church in the sixteenth century is a very complex one. The present love for all that is mediaeval has in some quarters led to a suspicion that the Reformation need never have taken place. Nothing can be further from the truth. If there were to be any modern times at all, as distinguished from mediaeval times, it was essential that this movement should take place, in order to effect the transition at the time, and to mark the frontier line for all future historical retrospect. The magnitude of the area from which the Reformation gathered its forces shews conclusively that it was no departmental freak. In fact, it is only by confining the outlook to a very restricted field, and by therein magnifying the accompanying mistakes and minimizing the essential reforms, that anyone could persuade himself that it need not have taken place.

The geographical area taken alone by itself is imposing: it is no less an area than the whole of Western Europe that has to be taken into account. For more than a century the cry for reform of the Church in its head and its members had gone up from every quarter: and however much the

reform was delayed, or in whatever degree of excess or defect it was likely to take effect, it was certain to come in some way. The sixteenth century saw it come at last, and affect a vast area of thought and temperament. Reform anarchical, reform radical, reform moderate, reform conservative, reform restricted and grudging—every type of reform manifested itself, as the once solid phalanx of Western Christendom was resolved into a new formation, ranging from the Extreme Left to the Extreme Right. It is essential to the understanding of the Reformation that it should be recognized to have issued at once in the Anabaptist excesses and in the Council of Trent, and to have affected every country of Western Europe.

For the convenience of the historian and his reader the geographical area must, almost of necessity, be broken up, and one country considered separately from another, if any thorough examination of the causes of the Reformation is to be made. At the present moment it is the causes that we are concerned to trace out rather than the results. This is a task which has been much neglected in the past—at any rate so far as English Church History is concerned. Much has been said, too much indeed, about the immediate occasions; they are obvious enough and can be easily emphasized. But the Reformation is not the result of them. The cry for Reform had been becoming shriller for a century: and the causes had been accumulating for an even longer period. The writer who would describe them must look far back, and look widely round. Of all the groups of causes which are subsidiary to the central religious and theological group, the political is the most conspicuous. But, important though they are, political conditions are mainly of importance as offering the occasions for the outbursts of the movement and in some degree shaping its overt course. The real causes lie further away. The politicians emerge steering their boats on a strong current, independent of them in its origin, which has long and secretly been accumulating its force.

The social group of forces is far more important and far less heeded. It is a new state of society into which Western

Europe issues in the progress of the sixteenth century. Feudalism has gone, and a new hierarchy of social order is forming; the old families have lost their position, and new families, owing their rise to politics or commerce or other professions than that of arms, are taking their place. The economic group of forces is scarcely less important, for everywhere change had been going on in the fifteenth century at a pace unprecedented before: and with the discovery of the New World, the development of international commerce and the advancement of the system of credit, the pace was to be still further accelerated in the sixteenth century. All this was bound to result in a great displacement of social order, the rise of some and the decline of others. Further, the old equilibrium between town and country life was upset: the towns at once attracted and repelled. They attracted because they were free centres of industry; but they repelled because in them a close oligarchy of trade and handicraft had arisen, which barred the door to the worker who came from without. Hence the new manufacturing villages arose and grew into towns: and, in the midst of all this displacement, men were everywhere upon the move, and restlessness invaded every department of life.

More recent in its origin, but not less potent, is the group of intellectual forces; but this group, being conspicuous, and for the most part contemporary like the political group, has had a fuller share of attention from students and writers than has fallen to the remoter and more inconspicuous groups.

It is the great merit of M. Imbart de la Tour's book, now in progress, that he attempts, for France, to take stock of all five groups of contributory forces. He studies first of all the evolution of Royal Absolutism in France. It is a feature very different from the contemporary process in England: and yet the sudden constitutional tyranny set up by Henry VIII is the outcome of the same necessity, viz. the need of a single and absolute helmsman in a period of gusty change. Then follows the study of the economic and the social groups of forces. These three topics fill the first volume; the

second deals with the moral and religious conditions. The first section traces the growth of French Nationalism in its struggle against the theocracy of the mediaeval popes, describing the power and organization of the Papacy on the one hand, and on the other the various components of Gallicanism. The second section is devoted to an elaborate inquiry into the abuses that were calling for reformation, both ecclesiastical and moral. The third carries the reader to more familiar ground, for it is concerned with the Renaissance of Letters and Humanism: while the fourth shews that a religious revival had already begun in France, and was brought to a definite milestone on its course at the making of the Concordat in 1518, before Luther's movement was under weigh. This scheme is as elaborately planned as it is thoroughly executed, and the reading of these volumes raises a keen desire that some work on the same scale should be carried out, dealing with the English field. The similarities and the dissimilarities that emerge from a comparison of England and France in this respect are alike fascinating: and M. de la Tour's work often reveals the lines along which English investigation must proceed, if it is to attain the illuminating results that he produces in the field across the Channel.

The two volumes that Dr. Gairdner has devoted to Lollardy and the Reformation are also in some degree an attempt to inquire into origins; but as a study of the causes leading up to the English Reformation they are disappointing. Only a quarter of the book is occupied with Lollardy as a precursor of the theological changes of the Reformation; and no groups of causes are handled at all fully except the immediate political occasions of the breach with Rome, of which Dr. Gairdner had in his previous book already given us too much. Restricting ourselves, then, for the moment to this narrow plan, we ask whether it is true that Lollardy had as little to do with the Reformation as is here made out. M. Trésal in his little *travail de vulgarisation* is well advised in devoting his first chapter to Wyclif and even to Wyclif's predecessors. His account of the Lollardy that followed is brief, but pointed; he ends it at 1428 and the action

then taken, as a result of the Council of Constance, for the discrediting of Wyclif. But he says rightly that the disappearance of Lollardy in England was an eclipse. And this phrase seems a truer account of events than the longer description of Dr. Gairdner.

The fountain-head of Wyclif's teaching was marvellously fertilizing. If his followers pushed his tenets to conclusions that he would not have sanctioned, they nevertheless took their premisses from him : and though it is not fair to charge him personally with all the outcome, yet it is necessary to take all the developments, even the most extravagant, into account if the movement that came from Wyclif's impulse is to be adequately studied. Lollardy, then, is a term which loosely comprises a vast number of tenets or tendencies scattered over every field of human thought and activity. Theories and criticisms, political, social, economic, as well as philosophical, intellectual, and theological, are all to be included. In fact, it becomes clear that all the territories, from which it is necessary to trace the component forces originating the Reformation, are territories that were invaded by Lollardy in Wyclif's closing years and the half-century that followed.

Thus Lollardy, in the narrow and exclusively theological sense, is too slender a stream to trace as being the source of the Reformation ; but in the wider and truer sense it is a watershed that profoundly affects the upper reaches of every stream which emerged into the field to swell the Reformation current in the sixteenth century. The drawback of Dr. Gairdner's plan is that it is too restricted. Neither in considering the Reformation, nor in considering Lollardy, does he lay himself out to take account of more than a small part of the phenomena that need investigation. In saying that Lollardy had little to do with the breach with Rome in the second quarter of the sixteenth century he may be technically right : his intimate knowledge of that period of history entitles him to be a judge whose verdict it would be presumptuous to review. But his verdict can only be thus deferred to, if it is clearly understood that by Lollardy he means that part of the Lollardy movement which is restricted

to the overt profession of a certain sort of theology ; and also if it is clearly remembered that Henry's breach with Rome is far from being the whole or even the chief part of the English Reformation.

If we take from Dr. Figgis' illuminating essay some features of Wyclif's teaching, what a manifold result is secured. 'He demanded a complete breach with the past.' 'The individual soul is freed under Wyclif's system from all necessity of human media to approach the divine.' 'The very idea of authority in the Church irritates him.' 'Had Wyclif's maxims become operative . . . there would have been no more auricular confession, no more confirmation, no indulgences, no extreme unction, no, or very little, liturgical service, no cathedrals, no canon law, no glebes, no rectories, no colleges, no councils, no endowments, no governing prelates, no cardinals, no popes.' 'He set the example to all later reformers of going back for his sanctions to the earliest ages of the Church.' 'The conception of Church authority apart from reason and Scripture—he co-ordinates the two—had no meaning for him.' 'He represents the uprising of the lay spirit against political ecclesiasticism in all its forms.' This is the ecclesiastical side of his influence : and it might belong to the sixteenth century.

Nay, Wyclif is modern, that is to say, much of his teaching passed unassimilated through the reformation period and was carried on for the nourishment of future generations. 'His economic views are largely modern.' 'He is modern again in his individualism and his desire to bring everything to the test of practical utility.' Politically, Wyclif is an anarchist. 'His celebrated theory of dominion . . . is really the notion that all human rights are to be exercised as a trust, and not merely for the gratification of the user. . . . This is the idea on which all social and political and legal changes for the betterment of the world have been proceeding ever since ; and Wyclif has the credit, if not of discovery, at least of announcing it.' 'His real thought is that the Gospel is sufficient, and no law is really needful.' He anticipates the Tolstoian.

But while recognizing the modern character of many

of the deductions from Wyclif's premisses, we are at this moment more concerned to recognize in all this many familiar features of the movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of these ideas attained success then, others failure; in England some were taken up by Churchmen, some by Puritans, some by Anabaptists, some by the Friends. Wyclif and his ideas are in evidence during that era at every point. The only question is whether these ideas have broken out quite afresh, or whether they have gone on continuously since his day, prominent and developing at first, and then undergoing a half-century of eclipse, or possibly incubation.

Now there are certain features which point very clearly to the second alternative. The ecclesiastical line shews that Lollardy was, at any rate, not eclipsed totally. The processes for heresy went on by fits and starts, but on the whole continuously. The views which the early Lollards of the first half of the fifteenth century recanted, or for which they suffered, were often such as Wyclif himself would have disowned and the English Church Reformation did its best to repress: but nevertheless they sprang from Wyclif and grew into features of the reformation era. At other times they are those which, in more or less full form, came into power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Prominent among them is the criticism of the position of the Papacy, not on its financial or ecclesiastical side merely—that has been under a constant fire of criticism ever since it came into question in England with the advent of the Normans—but upon its dogmatic and spiritual side, as being an institution not theologically justifiable. Still more conspicuous is the link which the English Bible forms between the earlier and the later days: and if the volume itself is conspicuous, noteworthy also is the principle of interpretation which Lollards maintain and hand on. From these two points there necessarily issues another. If Church authority—as embodied in the Papacy—is depreciated, and simultaneously the authority of the Bible is enhanced, then there is necessarily a new view of the relation of Church to Bible, and a shifting of the grounds of belief, so that

ecclesiastical tradition shall mean less, and Biblical revelation shall stand for more. Further, when this is the case, the way lies open for a new discussion and, it may be, revision of many details of belief : the Eucharist, the saints, the relics, the pardons are brought forward in turn to take their trial at this reconstituted court of assize, and the Lollards anticipate the New Learning in acting as the prosecutors. This general statement of the case must now be justified by some instances, which, in order to be convincing, shall be taken from the later rather than the earlier days of Lollardy.

Midway between Wyclif and the breach with Rome there stands a strange figure, which in a paradoxical way shews the persistence both in success and failure of the Wycliffite conceptions. Reginald Peacock was above everything else paradoxical. He was the opponent of the Lollardy of his day ; yet in many respects he was himself its adherent ; and the skill of his advocacy was derived from the fact that he knew the enemy so well and attacked him almost from within. He is as enthusiastic as any Lollard for the English Bible and for the laying open of the faith in the vernacular : but the Bible for him is not the comfort and illumination of the individual, mystically minded but 'lewd,' layman ; it is the treasure-house of precedent and primitive deposit, from which, neglecting mediaeval lore, he can draw premisses for his own syllogisms. He depreciates Church authority as does the Lollard : not, however, because he wishes to exalt the individual conscience of every believer, but because he wishes the reason of the learned to have the decisive voice. He saw the abuses against which the Lollard declaimed, and frankly admitted and deplored some of them. If he opposed a strong clerical defence to their anti-clerical attack, he seemed to his contemporaries to be giving away the clerical case by his method of doing so. He admitted that the authoritative voice of the Church expressed by its doctors and clergy might be wrong ; but he told the laymen that they would be safer in following it, even where it might ultimately prove to be wrong, than in rejecting it on grounds either of private conscience or private judgement. 'The "heretic" may be right and the

Church wrong,' he said in substance: 'but unless he can overpersuade the Church, he must be counted a heretic.' Peacock did not think that his lay heretics were likely to prove themselves in the right against the Church, or even to be so. Hence his opposition to them. But, for himself, he must have hoped that he, a theologian and a bishop, could convince his contemporaries, the doctors and bishops, that his own bold heterodoxies were the coming orthodoxies. Alas for his reputation, that he was too sanguine! When his tenets were brought to the test, he first failed to commend them, and then failed to die for them. That is the tragedy of his position.

Peacock, it is true, was not representative of anyone except himself: and he found himself between two fires. But on that very account he is noteworthy; for he shews the power that Lollardy exercised at its highest flight, and even over its professed opponents. The new views were in process of quiet digestion: the future was to assimilate much and to reject much. What some parts of the religious movement in England in the sixteenth century assimilated, others rejected. Peacock's quick brain anticipated this process: he both assimilated and rejected before the time was duly come; hence the crudity of his attempt, in spite of its brilliance. It was an intellectual compromise between old and new, which was before its time, and which, for lack of spiritual fervour and solidity of character, came to the ground without leaving any overt consequences. Nevertheless Peacock stands as an index both of the success and failure of Lollardy half-way through the fifteenth century.

His own line perished with him and was never again taken up, though there was much in it which the more liberal conservatives of the sixteenth century made their own. Very different was the case of his opponents. When Peacock was gone there was no bishop left to deal with the Lollards in sympathetic argument, or to confute them in a vernacular literature more able and more popular than their own. If there had been such, or if the bishops and doctors had taken up Peacock's methods, the whole future of the Anglican Church might have been different. The wheat

might have been sorted out from the tares. But the officials did nothing of the sort. They were only encouraged by the downfall of Peacock to class all this new crop as tares, and adjudge it indiscriminately to the fire. So Lollardy was again driven into the soil unsifted, though a few bundles were burnt from time to time, for the encouragement of the conservatives and the discouragement of radicalism. The result, as might have been expected, was that the crop both of wheat and tares multiplied surreptitiously, and out of all proportion to the small show that it made openly.

For consider the points of Lollardy which Peacock attacked, or, say rather, the points which he defended from its attack. In 'The Repressor' there are eleven Lollard contentions put forward. (1) Images are indefensible, not perhaps in themselves, but because of their abuse. (2) Pilgrimages are unnecessary, for it is more profitable to read Scripture or hear sermons: besides, they imply the untruth that one place is holier than another, they delude by false miracles and lead to idolatry. (3) The endowments of the Church lead to pride, gluttony, simony, and similar vices; they have no sanction from Christ, and their growth has brought growing corruption, including the secularization of prelates in their courts. (4) The hierarchy of bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and pope is unwarranted, and (5) has created a system of ecclesiastical law which is burdensome and in some respects contrary to the law of God. (6) The religious orders are unscriptural; they lead to neglect of parents and other vices, to quarrelling, peculiarity, charlatanry, and wordliness. (7) Invocation of Saints is vain; and prayer, fasting, and good deeds are not available for a friend. (8) Many church ornaments are costly, and should be sold for the benefit of the poor; others are superstitiously abused. (9) The Sacraments are points of witchcraft and inventions of antichrist. (10) Oaths are unlawful, and (11) capital punishment is unjustifiable. Behind these contentions there lie, unstated but implied, great questions of principle, such as the relation of Church and Bible, the individual's

power of obtaining absolute truth from Scripture, the sufficiency of Scripture, the province of reason, and others which Peacock discussed at length.

Now these topics, both general and detailed, have only to be enumerated, and at once it becomes clear that they define the controversial ground of the sixteenth century no less clearly than they do that of Peacock's day. Are they equally those which are characteristic of Lollard champions from Peacock's time onward, till Luther's movement begins to affect England in 1518? There can be no doubt of it: they are as characteristic of those of the second half of the fifteenth century as they are of those of the first half. Not many cases of Lollard controversy are recorded between Peacock's death and the new dynasty of 1485: but where there is evidence it is to the point. William Barlow of Walden was burnt in 1466 as a relapsed heretic, the main trouble being his rejection of the doctrines of the Eucharist and Confession.¹ This is almost the sole case available for our purpose from the earliest part of the period, for war was raging and it was no time for bishops to be heresy-hunting. But from 1485 onward evidence is more ample, and Foxe's martyrology, which had become sparse, again becomes full. The Coventry group of Lollards examined in that year denied, amongst other things, (i) the claim of the pope to inherit St. Peter's power, (ii) prayer and alms for the dead, (iii) purgatory, (iv) the value of men's works, (v) the reality of the communion of one in deadly sin: and attacked (vi) pilgrimages, (vii) images, (viii) the power of the priesthood, (ix) the Lent fast, and (x) the giving of tithe to the priest instead of the poor.² With the last point we touch the social and economic question, which the clerical investigators seem for the most part, and very wisely, to have taken pains to exclude from their purview, except in so far as it concerned the ecclesiastical side. The images, pilgrimages, and the doctrine of the Mass, were again the grounds of complaint against Elizabeth Sampson

¹ Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, p. 347.

² Foxe, *Acts and Mons.* (ed. Cattley), iv. p. 133.

in 1508.¹ When we come to the great London group of Lollards, which gathers up from 1510 onwards, while there are wild charges which must be caricatures, not representations, of the tenets of the incriminated persons, the trouble is fundamentally the same.²

Theologically, then, the connexion between Lollardy and the Reformation is complete: and the connexion becomes only the more clear if other sides of the question than the theological are brought into account. We note all along the line the prominence of anti-clericalism: the opposition especially to the secularization of the Church by its endowments, its legal administration, and other worldly encumbrances. Just as the 'lewd' layman is rebelling against the priest, so the craftsman and artisan is rebelling against the lord and the hereditary gentleman. 'The Church is too rich,' said George Browne in 1518: and it is significant that the brief moment when Lollardy had aristocratic patronage soon disappeared. It spread like the plague among the poor and the growing middle class. It was the mob that had rescued Wyclif in the fourteenth century, and the movement remained throughout essentially a movement of the mass. It was the lay crowd that began a sincere, though often unintelligent, re-examination of the Scriptures; that adopted the new social ideals and went through the economic changes which were on one side favourable and on the other provocative to it; it was the crowd that became anti-clerical and nationalist: and, when thus stirred, created the huge momentum of the movement. That is the secret of its hidden persistence in the fifteenth century, and of the pent-up force with which it emerged and swept all before it in the sixteenth century. It is the crowd that was eventually responsible for the reform *in capite et membris* which the officialdom ever postponed: and it was the crowd that again and again mingled its purification with destruction and anarchy, and produced results which are irreparable both for good and for evil. The Church has never succeeded in recovering

¹ *Ibid.* p. 126.

² *Ibid.* pp. 174 ff.

from the shock : the churches, shrines, jewels, and precious things that were destroyed and secularized are in this sense a symbol of less tangible possessions of mediaeval Christendom that were sacrificed also. But equally irreparable is the good. It is folly to note what was lost, and not to note what was gained. It is idle to dwell on regrettable damage in England, and not see the essential reconstruction, in which all Western Europe has shared.

Yet even in the restricted sphere of England the cosmic character of the movement is plain. Henry, when he let the torrent loose in order that it might serve his selfish ends, found the one force in England that was his master and not his creature. If one thing more than another makes this clear, it is the futility of his attempts to turn the tide backward in the closing years of his reign. It had a destructive revenge in the chaotic days of his son ; and in those of his eldest daughter officialdom tried to do in England what it was afterwards to try on better lines to do at Trent, viz. to make a reform by seeking the minimum amount of concession necessary, not the maximum amount of truth and justice obtainable. The result was that the Marian attempt collapsed ; and even the Tridentine reform, though it recovered much for Rome, was impotent to recover the bulk of what it had lost, because it was as conspicuously clerical, reluctant and insufficient as other types of reform were anti-clerical, over-confident and revolutionary.

In England we can now see that in some ways if the Lollardy of the crowd had had its way our reformation would have been better, while in other respects it was the worse for too much concession to popular forces. It was a misfortune that when the crowd had started a great movement for social as well as religious reform, it was captured by the new middle classes, and exploited for their selfish advantages and to the disadvantage of the poor. It was a misfortune that some of the intuitions of the crowd as to ecclesiastical abuses were disregarded, and the cry for more spiritual discipline or more unworldly churchmanship was stifled. Three centuries have at last shewn us how valueless is a coercive ecclesiastical discipline that relies on civil

support. Another few years may shew us more clearly how grievously we have sacrificed our real interests to maintain our endowments. These are instances of what Lollards might have taught us long ago, if we would have learnt. There is less need to quote instances of a too ready compliance with ill-directed popular enthusiasm. The disgraceful iconoclasm that wrecked the churches is a conspicuous and familiar example: and the exaltation of the authority of the Bible to the depreciation of the authority of the teaching Church is, if a less conspicuous, yet certainly as important a case of surrender to unbalanced and revolutionary innovation.

Perhaps, however, at the moment we need not so much to reckon up our losses through excess or defect, as to dwell upon the inalienable gains of this movement; we may easily delude ourselves by focussing our gaze on the blazing superficial scandals, brutalities and tyrannies. But below these lies the reality of the current, and that is the point on which to focus, if we would see the hidden significance of the movement. It was, in a sense, as mysterious as those early migrations of savage peoples, which, beginning from remote causes, became great movements and ultimately altered the face of Europe. This mysterious and hidden movement of the peoples, called the Reformation, is a fact of similar dimensions and import. It is no less mysterious because it happened, not in prehistoric times nor in barbarous countries, but in the midst of the civilized world and under the eyes of recorders and historians specially qualified by the revival of learning to note with a new insight and record with quickened discernment. But the mystery of it all baffled them for the most part: they saw the surface movements and failed to note the tide. It would ill become us to blame them. Even to this day students, historians, and theologians are often content to see no more. They discuss the politics, scandals, intrigues, and by-products of the sixteenth century, and think they are describing the Reformation. But it is high time that we went deeper.

W. H. FRERE.

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—BIBLICAL STUDIES.

The Authorised Version of the English Bible, 1611. Edited by W. ALDIS WRIGHT. 'Cambridge English Classics.' Five Volumes. (Cambridge University Press.) 1*l.* net, or separately, 4*s.* 6*d.* each net.

ONE of the most valuable of the productions of the Cambridge University Press is the series of reprints known as the 'Cambridge English Classics.' It is the aim of this series to reproduce *literatim* original editions of English Classics, and the work is being done so carefully that in those which we have consulted the reprints are almost as valuable to the student as the original texts would be.

To this series a reprint of the Authorised Version of the Bible (1611) has been added: the text has been printed from a copy of the first issue in the possession of Mr. Aldis Wright. The general accuracy of the reprint is guaranteed by the fact that it is the work of the Cambridge Press. Mr. Aldis Wright has added a list of the variations between the two issues of the year 1611.

Two additions may be suggested for any reprint of this edition: there should be added a facsimile of one of the pages of the text followed—without it the editor's note on the variation in the headlines (made necessary by the form of the reprint) is unintelligible; and a list should be given of the misprints which have been reproduced, and of the cases in which the reading of the copy generally followed has been abandoned in favour of that of another copy. Without such a list the reader can never feel sure that any particular reading is to be found in the issue from which the reprint is made: it may be an error of the press in the reproduction, for no care will enable a printer to say that he has produced a faultless text. Of course it is not suggested that all variant spellings are to be noted, but such errors as that in the headline *Salomon's vision* (1 Kings ix. Vol. II. p. 287). The name is spelt *Solomon* in the text, and in his list of variant readings the editor gives in this case, as the reading of the first issue, *Solomon's vision*. Is then the form *Salomon's* an error of the modern printer? Or is it taken from a copy of the first issue other than that generally followed in the reprint? The reprint seems, in fact, to be correct; and the editor's statement to refer to the reading of another copy; but the reader has no way of knowing this.

Outlines of Introduction to the Hebrew Bible. By ALFRED S. GEDEN, M.A., D.D., Tutor in Hebrew and Biblical Literature at the Wesleyan College, Richmond. (Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 1909.) 8s. 6d. net.

THE subjects falling within the scope of an 'Introduction' are unusually numerous and important where the Hebrew Bible is concerned. A serious student is bound to know something, not merely of the Hebrew Scriptures as we have them but of such subjects as Semitic origins, Semitic speech and script, ancient versions in various tongues, and the present position of literary criticism. Reliable information on these things has hitherto, for the most part, been obtainable only in separate works. We have long needed a good single-volume guide, written in a scholarly way and with some approach to completeness—and not too costly. And we have it now in the book before us. Dr. Geden has done his work well. He is a student and a teacher. He has a wide and accurate knowledge of the subjects treated ; and his acquaintance with other fields of study—notably the languages and religions of India—has enabled him often to emphasize and lighten up his teaching.

The only important point where we should disagree with Dr. Geden is in regard to the dates of the Hexateuch *strata*. Most scholars now assign the origin of Deuteronomy in its present form to a period not greatly anterior to the promulgation of its code in the reign of Josiah, say the third decade before the end of the seventh century B.C. Dr. Geden is disposed to assign it to the times of David or Solomon, *i.e.* some four centuries earlier.

But we have no quarrel with Dr. Geden on that account, and this for two reasons :—(1) He accepts and very clearly proves, the now almost universally accepted *relative order* of the various *strata*—J, E, D, H, P—which, as he says, is unaffected by the question as to the actual date of D. And, as Dr. Geden thus puts back J E to a period much nearer the Mosaic age than that usually accepted, his position should tend to reassure the timid inquirer, and to shew that the main contention of modern criticism is not so very dreadful after all. Such a position as Dr. Geden's cannot seriously harm the student, and it may help some to whom criticism comes with an unwelcome surprise.

(2) Again, in an Introduction it is better to be over-cautious than over-confident on questions which are still, after all, open to some debate as to details. 'Cocksurenness' is contagious ; and it has real dangers for a student who suddenly comes face to face

with the fascinating conclusions of some brilliant commentator, and that 'minute dissection of the text which has claimed to be able to assign every verse or even portion of a verse to its particular author and date, as though the modern critic were looking over the shoulder of the ancient writers in turn,' as Dr. Geden well expresses it.

The illustrations—of MSS. and title-pages—are handsome ; but they do not seem much needed in a work of this kind. Their omission would have been compensated for by the issue of the book at a price lower even than the reasonable sum at which it is published. The two indexes are good ones. We have noticed very few misprints.

The Old Testament in Greek, according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint. Edited by A. E. BROOKE, B.D., Fellow and Dean of King's College, and N. McLEAN, M.A., Fellow of Christ's College, University Lecturer in Aramaic. Vol. I., *The Octateuch*. Part I., *Genesis*. 1906. 7s. 6d. net. Part II., *Exodus and Leviticus*. 1909. 12s. 6d. net. (Cambridge University Press.)

THE appearance of the first instalments of this work is a notable event in the textual criticism of the Old Testament. Some students familiar with the excellent edition of the LXX by Dr. Swete may be tempted to ask what need there is for anything further. This misconception of the nature and purpose of the 'manual edition' of Dr. Swete, as if it represented 'the true Septuagint,' appears in fact to be widely prevalent. A reminder seems necessary that the textual criticism of the LXX is far less advanced than that of the New Testament. The process of recovering the original text of any literary work of antiquity involves three stages: (1) the production of a working text; (2) the collection of all material evidence; (3) the approximate reconstruction of the autograph on critical principles. In the New Testament an approach, at any rate, to the final stage has been reached in the edition of Westcott and Hort. In the Old Testament we have not yet advanced beyond the first stage, represented by Dr. Swete's text. The 'Larger Cambridge Septuagint,' now beginning to appear, is the second stage, and finds its analogue

in the New Testament in the edition of Tischendorf. It is but the substructure for the text of the future. Even in this preliminary and indispensable task of marshalling the witnesses it has had its forerunner. But the great edition of Holmes and Parsons, produced at the sister University about a century ago, fails to satisfy the requirements of the present day. Fresh evidence has come to light and much has been done in the interval, notably in the production of reliable editions of the ancient versions and of early Jewish and Christian writings, and it is in these two departments that the main value of the new edition is to be found. Fewer minuscule MSS. are here quoted than in Holmes and Parsons (whose work will not be wholly superseded), but the reduction is compensated for by the careful scrutiny which preceded the selection, to ensure the adequate representation of all the groups of authorities. Dr. Swete's 'manual edition' will doubtless continue to serve the needs of LXX students for many years to come, but it has always to be used with the precaution that it makes no claim to be considered 'the true text.'

The amount of labour involved in this work is immense—in the collation of MSS., entailing repeated visits to Continental libraries (no easy matter for lecturers with academical duties), in the examination of Fathers and Versions demanding no mean linguistic equipment (Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac and Palestinian Aramaic are laid under contribution), and in the redaction of the evidence into its final compact form. It is impossible to speak too highly of the scrupulous care which the editors have shewn: the writer can speak from some insight into their methods in the infant days of the project.

The printed text is that of Dr. Swete (*i.e.* of Cod. B or of A where B is defective). In Genesis no alteration, other than slight improvements in punctuation, is made in it: a few further changes might have been introduced with advantage.¹ In their second part the editors have allowed themselves greater latitude, and by a more correct division of words have made some acute emendations; thus the unknown *εἰσδεκτόν* disappears from Lev. xxii. 21, 29, and Dr. Swete's *ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἀν' ὁμόσῃ* *ibid.* v. 4 becomes *ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἀνομος ἡ κ.τ.λ.* Elsewhere, however, they are guilty of 'Alexandrian' proclivities, *i.e.* of replacing Hellenistic

¹ *E.g.* *σίκμα* Gen. xlviii. 22 should have been printed with a capital (= Shechem); transliterations, except in a limited class of specially Jewish terms, are practically absent from the Pentateuch.

forms by classical, as when they print inflected forms of ἥμῃν and πλήρης in Exod. xxx. 15 and Lev. ii. 2, overlooking the well-established indeclinable use of these adjectives in later Greek.

A necessary preliminary to the reconstruction of the text—for which the editors recognize that the time is not ripe—is the identification of the three recensions which Jerome tells us were current in his time, viz. the Hesychian or Egyptian, the Lucianic or Syrian, the Hexaplaric or Palestinian. In a short notice it is only possible to touch on a few questions suggested by the present edition with regard to those recensions. (1) Probably the most striking result which emerges is the close agreement of the B text with the citations made by Cyril of Alexandria. This raises the important question whether after all the B text of the Pentateuch deserves the pre-eminent position which it has hitherto held, or whether it represents no more than an Alexandrian recension current in the fourth century. Is it 'neutral,' as in the New Testament, or merely 'Hesychian'? Its readings are often manifestly right, e.g. in Gen. xlix. 20, where it alone reads *τρυφήν* (a glance at the Oxford Concordance confirms this), all other authorities having the corrupt *τροφήν*. On the whole our respect for the normal superiority of its text remains, but our faith in its infallibility is shaken. (2) The Lucianic recension has with some degree of certainty been identified and its characteristics ascertained. Fulness—the result of 'conflation' of earlier types of text—and lucidity are the chief. Usually inferior, it gains importance from the fact that among the sources from which it gleaned there is one element of great antiquity. Its usual fulness adds weight to its omissions, and we are tempted to refer to the ancient strain in its parentage the remarkable omission of the following genealogies from one or both of the two Lucianic MSS. (bw) here cited: Gen. x. 2–32a (descendants of Japheth, Ham and Shem), xxii. 24 (of concubine of Nahor), xxv. 1–5 (of Abraham by Keturah), xxv. 12–18 (of Ishmael). Genealogies and lists were a favourite field for the interpolator. (3) The Hexaplaric group of MSS., easy of detection, represents the 'common' text of Origen's time supplemented by extracts which he inserted from one of the later Jewish versions. The present volumes, with other evidence, give some reason for thinking that in the historical books Origen had recourse to Aquila's version to fill the gaps in the older and shorter text,

whereas in the later books (e.g. Jeremiah) Theodotion's was the version preferred.¹

A few misprints in the text, chiefly in the matter of accents, have escaped detection in Gen. x. 9, xv. 16, xliii. 22; Exod. xi. 8, xxix. 18, xxx. 24; Lev. xiv. 17. In the note on ἡλδον, Gen. xlvii. 1, b is cited both as reading ἡκασιν and as omitting the verb. Through a typographical error in the upper group of notes at Gen. xlix. 5, it is made to appear that B and A agree in a remarkable variant. The insertion of the dates or reputed dates of the MSS. in the list of authorities would have been useful. We are glad to note that the editors have hopes that their next *fasciculus* may not occupy so long in production as its predecessors.

The Story of the Jewish People: Being a History of the Jewish People since Bible Times. With Maps and numerous Illustrations. In Two Volumes. By JACK M. MYERS. With a Prefatory Note by the Very Rev. the CHIEF RABBI. Vol. I. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd. 1909.) 1s. 6d. net.

'SINCE Bible Times' means of course to Mr. Myers 'Since Old Testament Times,' but he appears to think that his book may be of interest to 'non-Jews' as well as to his own co-religionists. Frankly from this point of view, however, the work can only be regarded not as a history but as a literary curiosity. A writer of history—to whatever Faith he belongs—who begins with the Maccabaeian struggle and covers two centuries of the Christian era should have at least such a sense of proportion as would prompt him to devote more than one per cent. of his pages to Jesus of Nazareth. As for a certain Jew named Paul, we find nothing about him; though surely ninety-nine people out of every hundred must find him a vastly more interesting study than most of the Rabbis, to stories of whom Mr. Myers devotes fourteen chapters. This little book is in fact a pathetic testimony to the narrow limitations in which Judaism—or much of it—lives and moves. But, though maimed and languid, it does

¹ For illustration of this suggestion reference may be made to the readings of the Hexaplaric groups in Gen. xx. 10 (τὸ ῥῆμα, against Theod. and Symmachus), xxiv. 47 (ἐπὶ μυκτῆρας αὐτῆς), xlv. 28 (καὶ ἦλθεν γῆνδε Γεσέμ). Compare the additional matter in Cod. A in the Kingdom books, manifestly (from the peculiar vocabulary) extracted from Aquila.

live and move after all. And therefore Mr. Myers' first volume, and we hope his second volume too, is likely to prove very acceptable and very useful in Jewish circles, especially as a school book. He has had the encouragement of the Chief Rabbi and of scholars like Mr. Abrahams and Professor H. Gollancz; and he wisely and well conciliates the reader's forbearance and regard by avowing that 'complete responsibility for a somewhat imperfect task is borne by the author, and none attaches to any of those whose names [about twenty-five] have been mentioned.'

Undoubtedly there is much that is exceedingly useful and interesting in his pages. The chapters entitled 'A Day in Jerusalem' are based on Franz Delitzsch's *Jüdisches Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu*, and are written in a vivid and attractive style.

Ecclesiasticus: the Greek Text of Codex 248. Edited with a Textual Commentary and Prolegomena by J. H. A. HART, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge University Press. 1909.) 10s. net.

AUTHOR and translator of *Ecclesiasticus*, 'conversant in dark parables,' have both set the modern critic conundrums. The discovery, within recent years, of fragments of a Hebrew text occasioned an animated controversy. The Greek translation has its own problems. Compare our two English versions and observe in the older the numerous verses the sole vestige of which in the Revised is the marginal refrain: 'Verses . . . are omitted by the best authorities.' 'The best authorities' mean the older Uncials. The Authorized Version reproduces a longer cursive text. Of this type the chief representative is Cod. 248, a fourteenth-century MS. But the additional matter is far earlier—older, in fact, than 'the best authorities.' The Old Latin version and Clement of Alexandria attest it. Moreover, the Uncials in *Ecclesiasticus*, B in particular, have proved untrustworthy: the Hebrew supports many readings of Cod. 248. The present long-expected edition is therefore opportune.

A Wisdom book, particularly if uncanonical, was specially liable to amplification. The prominence in these added verses of topics unrepresented, or nearly, in the Uncials suggests two conclusions: (1) they are glosses, though very ancient; (2) they proceed, in the main, from a single hand. The presence of some in the Hebrew further indicates a Hebrew original. The

glosses take two forms: (1) the insertion of a qualifying word or two; (2) more substantial additions, amounting once to eleven distiches. Links connect the two, suggesting common authorship.

How are the Uncials related to Cod. 248? *Primâ facie* the former, having apparently escaped interpolation, might claim preference. But, as stated, their text is often manifestly inferior, and another riddle requires solution. In all known Greek MSS., Cod. 248 included, there is a chapter-displacement, suggesting common descent from a parent MS. in which some leaves were accidentally transposed. The Latin and Syriac versions exhibit the true order. From this carelessly bound archetype are descended all Greek copies of both shorter and longer text. But that the glosses preceded this archetype is proved by their presence in the Old Latin, which has the correct order. Mr. Hart's inference seems inevitable, viz. that the uncial text did once contain the interpolations, which were subsequently *excised*, possibly under Origen's influence. In the Syro-hexaplar some glosses have Origen's well-known asterisk prefixed. A further corroboration of this theory may be offered. The 'glosses' decrease towards the end of the book; the Uncials, however, in this portion exhibit the glossator's characteristic phraseology.¹ His influence appears, then, to underlie these chapters: the glosses *are* there, the excision was incomplete.

'Better inexorable persistence in seeking the Lord than a masterless charioteer of his own life.' Who wrote these and similar remarkable words? In a highly interesting chapter Mr. Hart replies—a Pharisee, a forerunner of Saul of Tarsus, or, maybe, a Rabbinical *school*. The Pauline phraseology is indeed extraordinary; yet Christian influence is absent, and some distinctly Jewish topics introduced are almost un-Christian. Such are the 'pride of birth'² and the 'boasting'³ 'excluded' by St. Paul. The Rabbi anticipates the Apostle's use of the technical terms 'adoption'⁴ and 'rejection'⁵ (x. 20, etc.; cf. Rom. xi. 15): 'election' is another topic in common. Eschatology too shews points of contact. Faith and works, not directly contrasted, are both efficacious. Faith, hope, and love are extolled, but love is greatest. Herein lies a marked characteristic of the fuller text—the exaltation of the love of God over against or beside the fear of God. The older writer inculcates the supreme

¹ E.g. ἀγάπησις, γαυρία (-iân), μερίζειν.

² εὐγένεια.

³ καύχησις.

⁴ πρόσληψις.

⁵ ἐκβολή.

duty of 'the fear of the Lord' (i. 11 ff., etc.). The glossator once (xxv. 11) substitutes 'the love of the Lord,' but commonly inserts beside the fear the love which is its outcome. 'Love,' be it noted, is throughout not the Christian 'agape,' but the Septuagintal 'agapesis,' unknown to the New Testament and the later Jewish translators. In Rom. ix. 17 f. direct use seems made of the gloss in Sir. xvi. 15 f. More surprising still is it to find the germ of Christ's parable of the two sons in Sir. xix. 21.

If Mr. Hart's 'Pharisaic recension' has much to recommend it, we cannot say the same of other theories concerning Ben Sira's Prologue and date. Space forbids detailed criticism. Suffice it to say that, whereas 'the thirty-eighth year under Euergetes,' when the translator settled in Egypt, is commonly interpreted as the thirty-eighth year of Euergetes II (132 B.C.), Mr. Hart advocates a much earlier date, viz. 247 B.C., the thirty-eighth and last year of *Philadelphus*, which also saw the accession of Euergetes I. This ingenious explanation is rendered unnecessary by well-attested parallels for the redundant *ἐπί* with the ordinary rendering: Mr. Hart's opinion that Alexandria under Euergetes II was an impossible abode for a studious Jew is unconvincing. The arguments for a literary dependence of pseudo-Aristeas on Ben Sira's Prologue are forced: surely two writers could use the word 'diastema' independently!

The volume, which includes a collation of the Syro-hexaplar and a concise *textual* commentary, is a valuable contribution towards the exhaustive annotated text of the future. It is also the most suggestive study of a fascinating book which has appeared for some time. A sprinkling of misprints, particularly in accents, has been noted, and an occasional obscurity of diction.

The Historical Character of St. John's Gospel. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., Dean of Westminster. (Longmans. 1909.) 6d. net.

THESE three addresses, given by the Dean of Westminster in the Abbey, have as their object no more than to remove any preliminary distrust of the matter of the Fourth Gospel. The manner in which their author has attempted this is to review portions of the text, and to draw out underlying points of agreement with the Synoptists, or pieces of evidence which presuppose the facts contained in the earlier Gospels. The

value of the arguments varies, but taken as a whole is very considerable. In dealing with the miracle of the raising of Lazarus from the dead, the Dean frankly admits that those who hesitate about the historical fact of this miracle, will equally hesitate to accept his suggestion that the process of decay was suspended. To our mind the forced and unnatural suggestions of how the writer concocted this incident are much more difficult than anything in the narrative itself; while the place of miracle in our Lord's mission is too secure for it to be reasonable to reject those miracles which are special to the Fourth Gospel on this score alone. We feel that the Dean is on firmer ground in his review of the post-Resurrection appearances. Those who lay so much stress upon the interpretative character of the earlier chapters of the Gospel are in this portion confronted by the very striking fact that these appearances are recorded without comment, and without interpretation. This fact must be allowed its proper weight when the historical character of the earlier portion of the Gospel is considered. As with the other popular books which the Dean of Westminster has published, this small volume will repay attentive reading.

The Pauline Epistles. By ROBERT SCOTT, M.A., D.D. 'The Literature of the New Testament.' (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1909.) 6s. net.

THE ground covered in this volume goes very far beyond the Pauline letters, even as ordinarily understood. We say 'as ordinarily understood,' for Dr. Scott accepts portions of only five letters as by St. Paul. These are the four letters that are now universally accepted and Philippians. These letters 'are unique, and contain the image of a unique personality'; 'they are self-evidencing, and laborious attestation is unnecessary.' The Epistle to Philemon does not pass this test: 'the language is not Paul's, and the story (*cf.* Col. iv. 9) is inherently doubtful'; and another passage where to most of us the personal note is strongly felt, viz. 2 Tim. iv. 6-8, 'is in reality a panegyric on the dead.' This personal impress is the determining feature, and where it is absent there must be found another author. Dr. Scott does not admit that St. Paul wrote in the vein of exhortation, and still less ecclesiastically. These features are evidence of the authorship of Silas and Timothy respectively. It is at this point that we discover the root-and-branch method of settling problems adopted by Dr. Scott, for on these grounds,

supported by a few literary and verbal parallels, he assigns to Silas the following books of the New Testament—the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Hebrews, those of St. Peter, portions of 1 and 2 Thessalonians and of Romans, the Gospel of St. Matthew in its final editing, and perhaps slight elements in Acts. We wonder why the author felt it necessary to add ‘perhaps.’ Timothy in the same way, we find, is responsible for the final editing of St. Mark, and St. Luke is probably the author of the Pastorals.

There are few things more difficult than to use wisely the evidence of style and language, and we are not satisfied with Dr. Scott’s guidance. The verbal parallels are very insufficient; the use of ἀραβῶν or ἀποκαλύπτω is not enough to prove identity of authorship, for parallels of a similar character can be collected to prove practically anything.

Dr. Scott is above all a sound Protestant, and remarks that those like-minded will not be sorry to learn that the mysterious reference to a magical use of baptism for the dead is editorial, and not by St. Paul. Similarly, in writing of the Church teaching in the Ephesian letter we are told that we shall find ‘no mention of bishop, or other earthly head, no priests or processions or paraphernalia of worship, but only spiritual access; no elevation or geographic direction, or “mystery” from the ages of darkness.’

St. Paul’s Epistles to Colossae and Laodicea. By J. RUTHERFURD, B.D. (T. and T. Clark. 1908.) 6s. net.

THIS is a disappointing work. In the preface we are told that the chief aim of the book is to trace the unity between the two Epistles, and to shew that Ephesians is really the Epistle to Laodicea. The character of the introductory chapters suggested that Mr. Rutherford intended the book for general readers, but we doubt how far it will be of value to such. They will wish for more and for less than he gives them. The notes do not bear upon the special purpose of the book, and are weak and insufficient. The central portion might with advantage be curtailed. An analysis of the two Epistles by Bishop Barry, printed in parallel columns, is followed after a few pages by the Greek text with parallels from Ephesians. Then comes an English translation of this section, and finally the same English translation of Colossians is reprinted. The translation is clearly intended for such as have practically no knowledge of the Greek

text, as may be gathered from the rendering of *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, 'He was born before any created being was brought into existence.' If Mr. Rutherford meant to guard against Arian misunderstanding by this paraphrase, a preferable rendering would have been 'He was begotten,' which is the language of the Creeds.

Fellowship in the Life Eternal. By G. G. FINDLAY, D.D.
(Hodder and Stoughton. 1909.) 10s. 6d.

THIS somewhat bulky volume contains an exposition of the three Epistles of St. John, compiled from lectures given to the students at Headingley College, Leeds. It is marked by all the thoroughness and signs of laborious diligence which we have learned to associate with Dr. Findlay's commentaries. We need scarcely assure our readers that all the leading commentators have been utilized, and that Dr. Findlay has carefully considered their points of disagreement. The opening chapters are given to the second and third Epistle, the former of which is thought to have been addressed to the Church at Pergamum. After a full statement of the reasons for regarding 'the elect lady' as a mode of address to a church, there is a useful paragraph insisting upon the need of appreciating the grandeur and authority that belong to the Christian communion, and how St. Paul and St. John are at one in insisting upon the Church's supremacy in the Divine order of the world. There follows an interesting chapter on the scope and character of the first Epistle, embodying a comparison of the teaching of St. Paul and St. John. Heir to St. Paul's work at Ephesus, St. John has built upon the foundations laid. 'The Pauline justification and sanctification reappear in the forgiving of sins, and cleansing from all unrighteousness of 1 John i. 7 and 9 . . . and the glorious hymn on charity is crowned by the sentence, 'God is love, and he that abideth in love abideth in God, etc.' We know from the Galatian Epistle that the two had met, and Dr. Findlay argues also for the indebtedness on the part of St. Paul for his doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and of the union betwixt Christ and His Church. Similar comparisons are to be met with in many other sections of the book, and are equally interesting and useful. The commentary is divided into chapters which correspond with the sections in the Epistle. In places we find signs of popular writing which we associate with the statement in the preface that chapters have appeared from time to time

in various periodicals. Though these have been revised and re-written, we cannot but feel convinced that a good deal might yet be gained by cutting down sections. There is also a loss of effect from over-elaboration, which makes the book more difficult to read than it need have been. But those who find Dr. Westcott's Commentary difficult will find here much of value, for Dr. Findlay knows his Bible well. The Epistle bears largely upon Christian experience, and it is this side of the Epistle which has been principally treated.

The Tests of Life: A Study of the First Epistle of St. John.
Being the Kerr Lectures for 1909. By the Rev. ROBERT
LAW, B.D., Minister of Lauriston Place Church, Edin-
burgh. (T. and T. Clark. 1909.) 7s. 6d. net.

MR. LAW expounds the teaching of the First Epistle of St. John on a basis of three 'Tests' which the Apostle lays down in order that his readers may 'satisfy themselves that they have eternal life' (p. 279). These Tests are Righteousness, Love, Belief. Conformably to this thesis, the subject-matter of the Epistle is arranged in three 'cycles,' in the first two of which the conceptions of 'Walking in the Light' and 'Divine Sonship' are examined according to the tripartite Test, while the third cycle of passages exhibits the inter-relation of Love, Belief, and Righteousness. The main body of the book consists of a running commentary following the lines of the admirable 'cyclic' analysis given in chapter i, and there are subsidiary chapters dealing with the style and structure, the aim, the writer, and the eschatology of the Epistle. In this last chapter (xvi) Mr. Law illustrates his view of St. John as a thinker whose success lies in a happy combination of 'two strains of thought, the ideal and the historical' (p. 325), by a felicitous exposition of his teaching about Antichrist, the Parousia, and the Day of Judgement. We must also mention specially the chapter (ix) on the Doctrine of Propitiation, in which the point of view is developed that 'God's sending His Son and Christ's laying down His Life are moral equivalents' (p. 178).

Mr. Law is at pains to elucidate his view of the Epistle as essentially a militant tractate against Gnosticism, written with a keen sense of present peril to believers. How far the Epistle can be regarded as a definite polemic against specific Gnostic principles (Docetism and Antinomianism: p. 26), and not rather as a tersely beautiful summary of the Christian life and its

characteristics, with occasional warnings against dangerous current tendencies, depends naturally on the date assigned to its composition: hence, in view of the prominence which Mr. Law gives to the prior opinion, we need something more definite and constructive than the elaborate criticism of other people's opinions in chapter xvii ('Its Relation to the Fourth Gospel').

The treatment throughout is very full—we had almost said *too* full, only this would do scant justice to the earnestness and thoroughness which the writer has bestowed on his work. One wishes, nevertheless, that the paraphrase of the Epistle had been given quite separately, and that the explanatory essays had been more compact and concise. As it is, the admixture of commentary and homiletics tends to become wearisome when diffused over 400 pages. This is the more regrettable, as Mr. Law has a happy gift of compression and definition when he chooses to use it. Still, the book is full of helpful suggestions, and, at times, he gets very close to the heart of the matter; but he is too fond of the severely 'mathematical' treatment of his theme, and he would do well to remember that ingenious collocations of texts, like statistics, can be made to prove almost anything. His thought and exposition are too traditional and conservative. We do not say this in a wildly revolutionary sense, but we do think that Mr. Law has lost a good opportunity of relating the essential teaching of the Epistle to modern needs and aspirations. He says mostly what one expects to be said—albeit he says it very well—hence there is an absence of freshness, and flashes of illuminative insight are rare. There is, however, an abundance of valuable material which preachers and teachers would do well to assimilate. The book is learned and devout—and our only regret is that it falls short of the suggestiveness of its title.

II.—METAPHYSICS AND ETHICS.

La Notion de la Vérité dans la 'Philosophie Nouvelle.' Par J. DE TONQUÉDEC. (Paris: Beauchesne. 1908.) 1 fr. 50.

THIS work and a 'Bibliothèque Apologétique' are put forth by the same publishers, and the 'new philosophy' is that of M. Le Roy. It criticizes, not by any means unsuccessfully, the weakest part of the philosophy which underlies the theological movement called Modernism: its treatment, namely, of the notion of truth.

According to the citations given by M. de Tonquédec from the writings of M. Le Roy, the old saying *Veritas est adaequatio rei et intellectus* is to be rejected; for *c'est nous qui la faisons*, 'it is we that make truth.' Such statements are now not unfamiliar to students of current philosophical literature; but they will surely not bear a searching examination. The declarations that 'the claim to stop at once engenders error,' that 'the various truths are ripples in the great current of *la vérité intégrale*,' that 'philosophical systems are moments of the same truth,' have an Hegelian ring; but the context is different. For M. Le Roy *la vie* is the criterion of truth; the usual ambiguity of pragmatism, however, appears in the assertion that 'Truth is fruitful and life-giving, it is judged by its fruits, by the services which it renders, by the progress to which it gives occasion, in a word, by the happy influence which it exercises upon the whole body of knowledge.' It makes a great difference whether or not we are intended to lay stress on the last words of this sentence—*le corps entier de savoir*. If it is by the influence of an alleged truth on the body of *knowledge*, not of other departments of life, that we are to judge of it, we have here no new and revolutionary doctrine as to the nature of truth, but an ancient and well-known rule for the testing of hypotheses. M. Le Roy seems, however, as represented by his critic's quotations, to return to a way of treating negative instances as objections to be brought against a theory by an opponent, in default whereof it may stand, which is just what may be supposed, (since that is what we find in Aristotle) to have made Bacon think them altogether neglected down to his time. No part of Bacon's teaching is more valuable than his insistence upon the duty of searching for negative instances without waiting for a critic to produce them; but 'for us,' says M. Le Roy, 'a true idea is an idea which is not false—that is an idea which is not contradicted.' We have taken our citations of M. Le Roy from M. de Tonquédec; but they are very numerous, and the general impression made upon us in respect of 'the notion of truth' is not favourable. No doubt behind M. Le Roy stands M. Bergson. Everyone who has made any acquaintance with the works of the latter thinker will recognize their rare originality and power, however difficult it may be to understand some of his positions or to feel oneself able to prophesy concerning his ultimate place in the history of philosophy. Those who have not read him at first hand should beware of supposing, in consequence of the eulogies pronounced upon

him by Professor William James, that he is to be classed as a pragmatist with his American admirer.

M. de Tonquédec discusses M. Le Roy's theory of knowledge with great fairness, and often very much to the point. He shews that it is less new than it claims to be; he points out some interesting anticipations of some of its fundamental positions in St. Thomas himself; he argues that with a pitiless logic it pushes idealism to its last consequences, by shewing that it must reach the unexpected result of denying the very notion of knowledge with which it started. This is always the great difficulty of subjective idealism. It starts by taking the fact of knowledge as its bedrock, and it ends by giving knowledge the lie; for knowledge always presupposes the independence of its object upon the process by which we know it. M. de Tonquédec gives an excellent defence of the 'realism' which those whom he is criticizing would put out of court; and he fairly convicts the 'new philosophy' of trying to disprove the validity of the usually accepted 'notion of truth,' while assuming it for the purpose of its own disproof. The treatment of its failure to shew that there is *liberté* in the realm of truth is good alike in its substance and in the moderation with which it is expressed.

It will be seen that we are much in sympathy with the greater part of M. de Tonquédec's criticism of M. Le Roy's theory of knowledge; but the theological inferences, which we are probably meant to draw, are less satisfactory. The bearing of the theory on religion may be described by saying that for M. Le Roy and his school the dogmas of religion share the provisional and instrumental character which they attribute to the formulas of science. M. de Tonquédec shews that this school, by their treatment of the notion of truth, empty it of the only meaning which it can have—and which it ultimately has even for themselves; but in an opposite way to theirs he himself is but a half-hearted friend to Reason. Clever as is his attempt (pp. 132, 133) to shew that to recognize value in all systems is to deny evolution and to reduce reality to a chaos, there is an answer to it that it is possible to assign varying values to different portions of a reality which is not chaotic but has an organic structure, without denying that all alike *are* portions of reality; nor is this to use a mere pragmatist's 'criterion of success,' such as M. de Tonquédec criticizes in his last section. Again, with whatever questionable tendencies in philosophy Modernism may be found in alliance, we must not forget, while reading

page 148, that in theology it is of its very essence to desire the preservation of the heritage of the past. But this book may do (though that, we take it, is not at all its aim) a service to Modernism, by warning it to dissociate the cause of free thinking in union with religious loyalty from an unsatisfactory theory of knowledge, its present connexion with which is, though easily explicable, not necessary and need not be permanent.

Good Without God: Is it Possible? By JASPER HUNT, B.D.
(London: H. R. Allenson.) 2s. 6d.

MR. HUNT'S little book is a popular statement of the moral argument for Theism. The author does not attempt to draw out directly the religious implications of the moral consciousness, but prefers to adopt a less direct method which will be probably more impressive to the thoughtful but inexperienced layman for whom the book is intended. Mr. Hunt takes the generally accepted moral code, including the duty of self-sacrifice, and argues, with considerable force, that it can find, in the last resort, no sanction in a purely naturalistic view of the world. The belief that the good, as such, is naturally desired by ordinary men and women is, in his opinion, a pure illusion born of the rarefied atmosphere in which specialist writers on ethics exist. 'The prime object of moral teaching, no matter from what source it comes, is the suppression of the natural man.' Utilitarianism and evolutionary Hedonism are alike incapable of giving any cogent answer to 'the great why' which rises in the mind of the individual confronted with the alternative of renunciation or gratification. 'The atheist book convincing us that it is more rational to give than to receive has yet to be written.'

The author has some acute remarks upon the supposed traces of morality in the lower animals and on the evolution of the social instincts in man. Following Mr. Benjamin Kidd he maintains that the subordination of the individual to the interests of the society has rested on belief in the supernatural, and that modern civilization has no different basis. If the supernatural sanction is withdrawn the system which is built upon it cannot be permanent. Although the influence of Christian ethics may remain for several generations, yet the disappearance of religion must mean, ultimately, the disappearance of man as an ethical being. The book is not free from the fault of exaggeration. The place of the moral sentiment as an essential characteristic of human nature is not sufficiently recognized, nor is

due weight given to the view of the moral life which regards it as an effort towards self-realization. In spite of these defects, which are largely due to the manner in which the argument is stated, the essay is a forcible plea for the recognition of the influence of religious belief on practical moral life. Mr. Hunt writes in an attractive style which is somewhat marred by the constant use of the split infinitive. His turn for epigram leads him occasionally to bewilder us with such sentences as the following:—‘If we are to obey Reason, reduced to a kingdom of material data only, let it be material or mechanical reason and not abortive transcendentalism committing petty larceny under an alias.’ But the book is, on the whole, an interesting and able one which is likely to be of service to those who, without being specialists, concern themselves about the connexion between morality and religion.

The Ethics of the Christian Life. By Dr. THEODOR VON HAERING. Translated from the Second German Edition by JAMES S. HILL, B.D. ‘Theological Translation Library.’ (Williams and Norgate. 1909.) 10s. 6d.

A Handbook of Christian Ethics. By J. CLARK MURRAY, LL.D. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1909.) 6s.

THE appearance of two works dealing in a systematic manner with Christian Ethics is an important event for Christian apologetics and for general ethical speculation. The burden of the defensive argument has been thrown more and more by Apologists on the new moral standard and impulse given in the Christian revelation, and therefore the objections which are urged against the Moral Ideal of Christianity are the most fundamental arguments against the truth of the Christian religion. That in the moral consciousness of Christendom we are presented with an original form of morality has long been recognized, but in what this originality consists and on what principles it is based are questions upon which no general agreement has been reached.

The study of Christian Ethics being thus important, it is unfortunate that a plague of dullness seems to lie in wait for those who undertake it. It cannot be said that Dr. von Haering has entirely escaped this affliction, to which perhaps his merits themselves have made him peculiarly susceptible. With Teutonic thoroughness he plods through all the many divisions of his subject and treats them all with unwearied seriousness. But his book, though a difficult one to read, is obviously the result

of patient and systematic thought and well repays any effort expended on its mastery.

The most valuable portion of the work is undoubtedly the first part in which the author defines the relation of Christian Ethics to antagonistic systems, and attempts to shew the inadequacy of the latter to express the full meaning of moral experience. For the general reader the value of this discussion would have been greatly increased by a fuller statement of the views which are combated and by more extended references to their exponents.

In Dr. von Haering's view the fundamental conception for Christian morality is that of the Kingdom of God. This is the supreme End, and is to be thought of as the fellowship or communion of finite persons with God, from whom they derive their being, and with each other. This End is progressively attained under temporal conditions, but its perfect realization implies another state of existence. From the idea of the End is derived the Christian rule of life, the duty of love to God and the neighbour which contains in itself all other commands. The superiority of the Christian theory of ethics over all others may be shewn from its comprehensiveness. It alone is able to reconcile the claims of the individual and the society, of the Right and the Good, of the temporal and the Eternal.

In what sense then may Christ be called the Principle of Christian Ethics? He is the example of a life lived in conformity with the End, in perfect communion with God and in perfect love with men. Isolated precepts of the New Testament and even sayings of the Lord, in so far as they refer to temporary conditions, are not regulative for the Christian life. The Spirit of Jesus and not the letter of His words is the supreme authority. Christ may be said to be the embodiment of the moral law, but Dr. von Haering is quite certain that He must not be called a law-giver, for this would be to agree with the Council of Trent. Writing from a strictly Protestant standpoint, he insists upon a sharp distinction between Catholic and Evangelical morality, and he traces with much ingenuity the effects of the legalistic basis of the former in the practical life. We cannot help thinking that he is guilty of some exaggeration. He does not allow sufficiently for the consideration that a legal formulation may be useful and even necessary in the temporal mission of the Church, even while it must be maintained that the juristic point of view is constantly to be transcended.

The later divisions of the work are very largely concerned

with local circumstances, but even where he is treating of the ecclesiastical conditions of Protestant Germany, the writer has some suggestive remarks on the application of general principles to Church problems. The social question has evidently exercised his mind as the practical issue with which Christianity is most definitely confronted at the present time, and he devotes to its consideration some concise but lucid pages. He sums up on the whole against theoretical Socialism and in favour of drastic social reform.

We are indebted to Dr. von Haering for a work of great learning and candour. His important contribution to the study of an intricate subject will not be the less valuable to English Churchmen because it is written from a standpoint not entirely their own.

Dr. Clark Murray's book, though of much lighter texture, gives a fairly complete view of the whole subject. He is not primarily concerned with the speculative defence of Christian morals, and does not therefore attempt any review of non-religious systems. In the last resort his doctrine is not very different from Dr. von Haering's, but it is marked off with less technical precision. The Christian Ideal is love. Love must be understood not as an instinctive emotion but as a rational habit. Christ is the revelation of God's will for man. It will be noticed that the Kingdom of God does not occupy so fundamental a position here as was assigned to it by Dr. von Haering, and throughout Dr. Murray's book it is kept strangely in the background. The theoretical and practical importance of the conception of the Kingdom is so great that it is impossible not to regard Dr. Murray's silence as a grave defect.

An excellent chapter on the evolution of Jewish and Greek morality leads on to the consideration of the full revelation of the moral ideal in the New Testament. The section in which the author expounds this revelation is somewhat meagre, only three pages being devoted to 'the moral Ideal in the teaching of the Apostles.' This scantiness is, however, to some extent remedied in the valuable treatment of the Christian character and the Christian interpretation of the virtues.

Perhaps the most interesting and original section of the work is Part IV, which is entitled 'The Methodology of Christian Ethics.' Here Dr. Murray deals with the moral training of the individual, which has rarely received due attention in works of this kind. On the subjects of ascetic discipline and casuistry, which seem to offer special temptations to exaggeration, he writes with praiseworthy moderation.

III.—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

Facsimiles of the Creeds from Early Manuscripts. Edited by A. E. BURN, D.D. With palaeographical notes by the late Dr. LUDWIG TRAUBE. 'Henry Bradshaw Society' Publications, Vol. XXXVI. (London: Printed by Harrison and Sons, St. Martin's Lane, for the Henry Bradshaw Society. 1909.)

THIS handsome quarto volume is designed on good lines; its purpose is to bring out, and to answer, problems in the history of our Creeds by exhibiting facsimiles of early Latin MSS. in which their different forms appear. Each group of MSS., as the editor points out, has been selected with reference to some problem; those of the Apostles' Creed, to throw light on the received text of that Creed; those of the Latin text of the 'Nicene' Creed, to illustrate the connexion of the Constantinopolitan form with the Church of Jerusalem; those of the *Quicumque vult*, to prove that MSS. earlier than the ninth, or even the eighth, century, exhibit that Creed in its present form.

There is something convincing, as well as interesting, in a facsimile; we love puzzling over it, and when we have deciphered its contents, they remain in our memory with unwonted vividness. The scholars, therefore, who have long watched and appreciated Dr. Burn's investigations, will be grateful to him for a publication which enables them to see how he works and shews them how to work themselves. Of his historical introduction we will only say that it is worthy of his reputation, and will be indispensable to all students of the subject. But the most important part of his book, palaeographically as well as historically, is of course the plates; these consist of twenty-four excellent photographic reproductions of Latin MSS., and as several of them are written in Italian and French pre-Caroline hands, they present us with specimens of caligraphy not often found in English libraries. But though the facsimiles themselves are of high value, we cannot praise the way in which they have been edited. There is no uniform method of describing them in the book. The late Dr. Traube, an unrivalled authority on palaeography, wrote descriptions of some of the MSS.: these are as good as they can be, but it was hardly necessary to print them twice over, first in English, then in their native German, with a detached note by Mr. C. H. Turner on another MS. sandwiched in between; for the rest of the facsimiles we have to pick

information as to date and provenance out of Dr. Burn's general introduction in another part of the volume. It would have been far better to have followed the example set by the Palaeographical Society, and given a summary description of each MS. on the page opposite the facsimile.

Then, for the assistance of beginners, we are given a transcript of the text, prepared and revised by Mr. J. P. Gilson of the British Museum, as an accompaniment to each plate; but the transcripts themselves sorely need revision. An introductory note informs us that capital letters have been used for the initials of the proper names, and that 'the punctuation has been treated with some freedom'; surely the time has passed for transcribing MSS. in this fashion. But worse still, the transcription is not even correct; a single examination of the facsimiles has shewn us the following mistakes (the words in italics give the true reading):—Pl. II., l. 9, nos: *uos*; IV. a, l. 17, nobis: *vobis*; V., l. 6, istius: *stius*; VIII., l. 19, presbyter: *presbiter*; IX., ll. 13, 18, ea, eam: *ga, gam*; l. 15, Iesum: *iesu*; l. 23, tertia: *tertia*; X., l. 14, resurrectionem: *ressurrectionem*; XIII., l. 4, Et in unum: *Et unum*; XV., l. 18, ser(ua)erit: *ser(ua)uerit*; XX., col. 2, ll. 24, 25, coaeternae, coaequales: *coeternae, coequales*; XXII., l. 11, beata: *beatae*; l. 21, inuiolatamque: *inuiolatamque*; XXIV., l. 14, praestat: *praebint* (for—*bent* ?); l. 27, Mr. Gilson (with some hesitation) reads the correction above *debemus* as *ipse intellege*; it is, however, *re intellega*, and the scribe by the position of the letters indicates quite clearly that he wishes to correct *debemus* into *debere intellegamus*. Unfortunately too it is not only in the transcription of the MSS. that we meet with mistakes; on p. 6 even of Dr. Burn's introduction a sentence from a Pseudo-Augustinian sermon has been reduced to absolute nonsense by the substitution of *cum* for *eum*, and *deles* for *debes*. The Henry Bradshaw Society and the staff of the British Museum have accustomed us to so high a standard of work that such blemishes are the more surprising.

The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire. By T. R. GLOVER, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (Methuen and Co. 1909.) 7s. 6d. net.

MR. GLOVER has already won a reputation for a range of classical knowledge beyond that of the average University teacher by his *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, and has now earned

further gratitude by a valuable, and even brilliant, survey of the relations between Christianity and Paganism from the beginnings of our faith to the days of Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian. He has the great advantage of approaching the subject from the classical side. Knowing, as he does, the life of the age and of those which preceded and followed it, he is able to give its peculiarities of thought and feeling their due place and proportion in his picture. Too often the professed theologian has only an incidental knowledge of the setting of early Christianity. He will write, for instance, about persecutions in contented ignorance of Roman criminal law, and his general acquaintance with the period will not be more profound. But this is not his only danger. Being familiar with a more fully developed type of Christian thought and practice, he is apt either to regard the divergence of earlier believers as something to be excused or explained away, or else he will read into their pages what he sincerely believes must have been in the minds of his fathers in the faith. Thus it is difficult for him to be either fresh or minute in his observations, and if his mind is fixed upon theological topics it is likely enough that points of historical or psychological interest may escape him. It is true that he has compensating advantages, and that Mr. Glover's presentation of the evidence might have gained by a fuller recognition of certain factors in the problem of the triumph of Christianity which Churchmen take into account. But his book represents a course of lectures at Mansfield College, Oxford, and we heartily welcome the reverent and enthusiastic spirit in which he speaks of our Lord, and of some of the motives which guided His early followers. Yet we think that he lays a little too much stress upon the Passion as one of these. The great contrast between early Christianity and that of the Middle Ages was surely that in the one the triumphant Christ, in the other the appealing Christ was dominant. It was not till St. Augustine and the sack of Rome that the new thought drove the old into the background. The Resurrection also ought to have been much more prominent as an impelling force than it is in Mr. Glover's pages.

The best parts of the book are its beginning and its end. It starts with an admirable picture of the world into which Christ came, which is followed up by delineations of Plutarch, Marcus Aurelius, Lucian, and Celsus, excellent both as psychology and as literary criticism. But the last chapter is best of all: an account of Tertullian both acute and

sympathetic which has hardly been equalled as yet in English literature. In the central portion of the work, thoughtful and attractive as it is, not only are points sometimes missed, but serious doubt is excited. Yet, since Mr. Glover is primarily a literary man, he may be pardoned for taking a good deal on trust from avowed theologians, and he can find such in abundance to support what seem to us his stranger conclusions. But he might have remembered that 'independent scholars,' as he calls them, are sometimes people who have cast off one set of prepossessions only to burden themselves with another; and among such are the authorities from whom he has learned that 'Jesus instituted no sacraments.' But Mr. Glover's work, in spirit and in execution, is so admirable that we would not part with him save with words of gratitude, and in the hope that he will soon fill the gap between this and his former work with a study of the great Christian writers from Origen and St. Cyprian down to St. Ambrose and the Cappadocians.

Israel in Europe. By G. F. ABBOTT. (Macmillan and Co.)
10s. net.

IN this volume Mr. Abbott traces the history and fortunes of the Jewish people from their first contact with the western world down to the end of the nineteenth century. The book is brightly written, and vividly describes how the problem 'What to do with the Jew?' has been attempted by European statesmen in all ages, and the sufferings which have been undergone by the alien race in the process of its attempted solution. Having finished his narrative, the writer deals in a lengthy and interesting chapter with the causes of anti-Semitism as it exists at the present day. His conclusion is that 'viewed in the light of two thousand years' recorded experience, modern anti-Semitism appears to be neither religious, nor racial, nor economical in its origin and character. It is all three, and something more.' 'If it were possible to unite all these causes in one general principle, it would be this: Every age has its own fashionable cult, which for the time being overshadows all other cults, gives a name to the age, explains its achievements, and extenuates its crimes. Every age has found in the Jew an uncompromising dissenter and a sacrificial victim. The cult *par excellence* of the nineteenth century is Nationalism.' The fact that the Jews form 'the one element which refuses to be fused in the nationalist crucible' is the cause of the *Judenhetze* of the present day. Finally,

in a review of the future prospect of a solution of the Jewish problem, Mr. Abbott expresses his opinion that 'the only remedies that history points out as worthy of the name are either assimilation of the Jews in various countries to the Gentiles among whom they dwell, or separation from the latter, geographical as well as political.' The latter solution, as it has come to the front within recent years under the name of Zionism, is discussed in detail in the concluding chapter.

The Foundations of the English Church. By J. H. MAUDE.
(Methuen. 1909.) 2s. 6d. net.

The Saxon Church and the Norman Conquest. By C. T. CRUTTWELL.
(Methuen. 1909.) 2s. 6d. net.

THE evidence for the existence of a widespread interest in the history of our Church furnished by the multitude of modern text-books is doubtless reason for gratitude; but we cannot help wishing that the publishers would divert the zeal of scholarly writers to some more profitable channel. Once more a series has been undertaken, and happily inaugurated by two excellent volumes. Yet we could not advise any possessor of Canon Perry's *Student's English Church History* to add these rivals to his shelves. They, for the moment, are more up to date, but any day a new edition, or a new historian, may deprive Messrs. Maude and Cruttwell of their advantage. They would have done better to devote their labour to one topic or one person, for a successful monograph is not easily displaced. As it is, each has produced a very pleasant and readable *résumé* of familiar facts, Canon Cruttwell shewing more special knowledge than his colleague, and having as a compensation for the loss of Bede's company the advantage of dealing with a less familiar period. The whole forms a well-balanced narrative, ending at a well-chosen point, the death of Henry I. But we could wish that more attention had been given to the actual working of the Church. Mr. Maude had an excellent text in the epistle of Bede to Archbishop Egbert, but he does not condescend to details; and Canon Cruttwell has missed the opportunity given him by Lanfranc of describing the mediaeval system, which Lanfranc raised to a pitch of efficiency which probably was never excelled in England till modern days.

The Story of Iona. By the Rev. E. C. TRENHOLME, M.A., of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley. With illustrations from photographs and drawings by FRANCES M. RICHMOND, and maps. (Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1909.) 8s. 6d. net.

THIS book was begun while the author was stationed at Iona in 1907-8, presumably in the House of Retreat there, commonly called the Bishop's House. As that was his third visit, he had ample opportunity to explore the island, which is only three miles and a quarter long, and a mile across the middle. He had the scenes that he describes before him day by day, and he went about his work *con amore*. The result is very satisfactory. After describing the island and its surroundings he explains who the Picts and Scots were, and then traces the history from the coming of St. Columba and his life in Iona, through the centuries down to the later Celtic period, the Benedictines and the Lords of the Isles, to modern times. Then, in four chapters, he gives the topography in the fullest detail, saying what is known about every spot that has a name. One of these chapters is wholly about the Cathedral and its surroundings, and this chapter is a little disappointing. We should have been glad to have learned whether the distinct traces of the choir stalls and the hole for the cantor's lectern which were to be seen in the floor of the choir in 1893 have disappeared in recent Presbyterian alterations, which are not mentioned, and to have been told something about the remarkable pedestal on the south side of the presbytery. Was it for a shrine, or a sacrament-house, or what? We think that there are similar pedestals elsewhere in Scotland. The many carved stones are all well described and illustrated—indeed the illustrations are both numerous and excellent, including many charming views as well as representations of architecture and sculpture. They are mostly from photographs taken by a granddaughter of Legh Richmond, the good Evangelical Rector of Turvey, who visited Iona in 1820 and 1823, when the inhabitants were 'as sheep without a shepherd.' He preached to them, the schoolmaster interpreting sentence by sentence to his Gaelic hearers. 'A rock my pulpit,' he says in his diary, 'and heaven my sounding-board; may the echo resound to their hearts.' And he founded a library there, which still exists.

There are no less than forty full-page illustrations, nine drawings in the text, and four maps and plans. And besides the contents

of the book already indicated, there are four appendices, a very full bibliography, and a general index. The writer has consulted all the best authorities, and his book may be recommended as on the whole a very complete and reliable piece of work, full of information important to all who feel the charm and interest of that first 'Holy Island.' By the way, it is pleasant to note that Iona possesses a 'Spouting Cave,' 'through which the waves throw a column of water high into the air at certain states of the tide' (p. 109; plate 4, at p. 12); and so, when the first missionaries from Iona settled on that second 'Holy Island' off the coast of Northumberland, they would soon be reminded of their western home by seeing 'The Churn' on the neighbouring little island of Farne spouting up in exactly the same way.

The Church in Modern England. By F. C. KEMPSON, M.A., M.B.
(London: Pitmans. 1908.) 2s. 6d.

MR. KEMPSON, who combines the charge of a country parish with a demonstratorship of anatomy at Cambridge, is a lively and ingenious advocate of the churchmanship represented by the English Benedictines of Caldy Island, from whose magazine parts of the present volume are reprinted. He advocates a theory of church government in which authority should be wielded by co-ordinate bishops throughout the world, sharply watched and checked, lest they stray into 'nationalism' or other un-Catholic errors, by those of the clergy who are in sympathy with himself. For nationalism is the great danger. Our peril is that through loyalty to the English Church we may become an 'imperial or pan-Anglican sect.' In fact, there is no English Church. There are two provinces of the Western Church in this kingdom which have no connexion with each other, save through their joint membership of the Western system. This is borrowed, of course, from Professor Maitland, and ignores, as Maitland did, the opening of Magna Carta. It ignores also the *de facto* supremacy of Canterbury, with its *alterius orbis papa*, secured, as Böhmer has shewn, by Lanfranc's freedom from scruple in the manufacture of evidence. That supremacy enabled Cranmer to confront the Popes on equal terms; and was obtained by means which will bear comparison with those which secured the authority of Rome. At any rate it exists, and exists by as evident a working of Providence as the mediaeval system, the permanent obligation of which (minus the Pope) is

postulated without proof by Mr. Kempson. For though he is incisive and even irritating in pressing his logic up to the point which suits his purpose, at that point he stops arbitrarily, and assertion takes the place of argument. But at least he is impartial in the administration of his irritants. Archbishop Bourne is a recalcitrant member of our communion, and the names of his clergy ought to be printed in Crockford, although they cannot, while contumacious, be allowed to minister at our altars. He shrinks, in fact, from no inferences, save those which are inconvenient for his purpose, that can be drawn from continuity; though in practice, as he admits, continuity is to express itself by imitation of the continental Counter-Reformation. The whole argument is clever; it is illustrated by a wide range of illustrations, not always relevant, from unlikely quarters, and sweeping generalizations start from minutely ingenious premisses. He is quite fearless. His courage does not shrink from striking originality. Classification is one of the highest achievements of science, and Mr. Kempson is a scientific man. He classifies the members of our Church as Catholic, Nationalist, and Evangelical. The last include all those who commonly bear the name, all Broad Churchmen, and such non-Catholic ritualists as the late Father Dolling. They are infinitely to be preferred to the non-Catholic Nationalist party, who are animated, their critic has discovered, by the 'spirit of the world.'

The Arts of the Church. Edited by the Rev. PERCY DEARMER, M.A. 4. *Church Music.* By the Rev. MAURICE F. BELL, M.A. 5. *Gothic Architecture.* By the Rev. E. HERMITAGE DAY, D.D., F.S.A. (Mowbray. 1909.) 1s. 6d. each net.

THESE two little volumes fully justify the anticipations that we formed upon a perusal of their three predecessors in the series to which they belong. *Church Music* is discussed by Mr. Bell in no narrow spirit. His tone is eminently ecclesiastical throughout, but he is not wholly wedded either to ancient or to modern music, though, on the whole, his sympathies are clearly with the former, concerning which he gives much practical information not readily to be found elsewhere, illustrated by some valuable and serviceable examples. In two of his earlier chapters he discusses organs and organists, and any who are about to provide organs for parish churches will do well to study his instructions. The services are treated of in the order of their importance: thus, Litany and Holy Communion together, Morning and

Evening Prayer, Catechizing, and the Occasional Offices. Mr. Bell appears to have no scruples about inserting hymns in almost any parts of the altar or choir services, and there is something to be said for this, provided that there be not too many and that they are suitable. Just as the Confirmation Office is usually quite overshadowed and overburdened by long addresses, so the Marriage and Burial Services are sometimes overweighted by far too many hymns. 'The Music of the Catechism' (Chap. ix) will perhaps be to some a startling heading, yet if the Catechism be made the basis of a 'Children's Service,' as it well may be, there should be plenty of hymns; only they should be of a kind adapted to the minds of children. 'We must aim at Sincerity, at Simplicity, and at Dignity,' says the author, who mentions that at children's services they have been asked to sing Mr. Lyte's deathbed hymn 'Abide with me,' or even Newman's 'Lead, kindly Light,' with its autobiographical hints about previous love of the garish day and musings on angel faces; he points out in a footnote that Dr. Newman, in one of his letters, speaks of those lines as being the expressions of transient states of mind which came upon him when he was at sea. It may perhaps be questioned whether either of these hymns is suitable for a general congregation even of adults. But it is impossible in a short notice to refer to many things in the book of greater moment than those which have been mentioned. It should be in the study of every parish priest who wishes the services in his church to be at once ecclesiastical, edifying, and acceptable to the people.

It is perhaps to be regretted that Dr. Hermitage Day, instead of limiting his range to Gothic Architecture (to be followed by a volume on the Renaissance and Neo-Classical), did not include Romanesque. 'Pre-Norman' is scarcely mentioned, and 'Norman' only incidentally, and for the most part with reference to its faults rather than to its merits. One is almost inclined to wonder whether the author has ever seen Durham Cathedral. However, as a popular manual of Church Architecture from about 1170 to the Tudor period, the volume before us is much to be commended. The main characteristics of each style are well pointed out, and with this book in his hand, together with (or even without) Parker's *A.B.C.* in his pocket, the average intelligent man may form a good idea of the life-history of any mediæval church, while the facts are presented in a manner that cannot fail to interest the expert. The old terms 'Early English,' 'Decorated,' and 'Perpendicular,'

invented by Rickman and still holding their ground as convenient and easily understood and remembered, though sometimes objected to as 'nicknames,' are here retained. It is pointed out how each style grew out of the other, with no break and no conscious effort after novelty, and when that is once understood, it is known that there is no new departure in any case, that there is work of a transitional character between each one and the other, and no one need be misled by the terms in question. The forty illustrations from photographs by the author are very good, but would be better if approximate dates were given in all cases, as in Parker's *Rickman*; and we should have liked to have seen more dates in the text. It is an enormous advantage to the learner to have dates constantly before him in connexion with architectural details. The remarks on the development of planning as new needs and occasions arose, are very instructive. It is said to have been 'argued with great show of reason' that our English square ends to chancels may be traced to Scandinavia, where wood was plentiful, that it was easier to build the chancel of a log church square than apsidal, and that, where we find the apse in England, it is probably due to other Continental influence. Be this as it may, it is well known that the square east end is the normal English plan, and the apse the usual termination in France and adjacent regions, so that when we visit the Cathedral of Dol in Brittany and see a square end lighted by a large window of several lights we are startled for the moment by suddenly feeling quite at home. But we must not further digress, and it only remains for us to commend this little book as well worthy to take its place with the others in the series.

Windows. A Book about Stained and Painted Glass. By LEWIS F. DAY. Third edition, revised and enlarged. (London: B. T. Batsford. 1909.) 21s. net.

MR. LEWIS F. DAY is well known as the author of nine volumes on subjects connected with ecclesiastical art, besides his standard work on Stained and Painted Glass, first published twelve years ago. This third edition is the result of wider observation and constant attention, and not only is it augmented by many additions in the text, but most of all in the illustrations. Photographic processes have improved so much of late that all the old plates have been done afresh, and a great many new ones have been added. The illustrations are, indeed, a very special

feature in the work, and we think we shall not go too far if we describe them as simply magnificent in many cases, even without the help of colour, the cost of which would have been prohibitive and the result not altogether satisfactory. As many readers will know, stained glass is that which by chemical means has acquired transparent colour in its own substance; painted glass is that in which an opaque pigment has been laid on and burnt in, as in the case of painting on china. Hence most of the coloured glass in our churches, etc., is both stained and painted, the stains giving the colours, and the paint the outlines and shading. 'Painted glass' done by means of transparent varnishes that cannot be burnt in, or by 'potichomania,' receives no consideration in this connexion: it is not worth it. 'To those who know nothing of stained glass, to those who know something, and want to know more; to those who know all about it, and yet care to know what another may have to say upon the subject,' Mr. Day dedicates this work. And it may be heartily recommended to all those who are here named.

In the successive 'Books' of the volume the author discusses the course of craftsmanship, the course of design, and certain things more conveniently taken separately. Under each of the two former heads he treats his subject mainly on a chronological basis, as did Winston, who for English glass effected what Rickman did for English architecture. Both in architecture and in glass there must be some overlapping in transitional periods, so that no hard and fast line can be drawn between one period and another. Mr. Day would group windows generally into three Gothic and two Renaissance periods: Early (corresponding with Winston's Early, to about 1280), Middle (Winston's Decorated, to about 1380), and Late Gothic (Winston's Perpendicular, to about 1530). Winston's names were, of course, derived from Rickman's names for the styles of architecture with which the glass, generally speaking, was associated. Then came Early and Late Renaissance. The Early still shewed more or less of Gothic feeling; the later was quite a new departure, and has nothing in common with mediaeval art. The Early Renaissance style lasted but for a short time; the windows in King's College Chapel at Cambridge are well-known examples of it. The later continued into the seventeenth century. Then there was no glass worth looking at until the revival of ancient methods under Willement and others towards the middle of the nineteenth century, which revival is now issuing in such splendid results in the twentieth. It may indeed be said to have ad-

vanced *pari passu* with the 'Oxford Movement,' of which movement it is in fact part and parcel, and not the least important of its outward expressions. It is impossible in a short notice to deal at all adequately with the volume before us. All we can say is that, with access to or possession of such a book, no one need any longer fail to understand, and that right well, the whole subject of stained and painted windows. It is, moreover, a real delight to turn over the pages, and at almost every turn to find some beautiful illustration.

IV.—PRACTICAL AND DEVOTIONAL THEOLOGY.

The Literary Remains of the Rev. Simeon Singer. (1) *Sermons.* Selected and edited with a Memoir by I. ABRAHAMS; (2) *Lectures and Addresses*; (3) *Sermons to Children*, edited by the same, with an Appreciation by L. H. MONTAGU. (London: Routledge. 1908.) 4s. 6d. each net.

THE late Rabbi Singer was an interesting figure in the Jewish world, mediating between the two parties of the Orthodox and Reformed, which, without exactly becoming two sects, divide the allegiance of the Hebrew congregations. As minister of the West London Synagogue his lot was cast with the former, but his hands were always outstretched to his brethren of the other persuasion, and he laboured continually to promote a better understanding. Passionately attached to the religious traditions of his race, and devoted to Judaism not only as a faith but as a discipline, he was yet eager to see his people identifying themselves, especially in England, with the national life. A Zionist, who believed in the literal fulfilment of the ancient prophecies concerning Israel, he was nevertheless opposed to any schemes which had for their object the establishment of a Hebrew State, preferring to see God's purposes fulfilled in the facts of history rather than in the narrow plans of human devising. Conservative of every custom of ancestral worship, he was alive to the necessity of adaptation to modern conditions, and held that even the Sabbath, made as it was for man, must yield to the exigencies of social service or public duty. While, therefore, he insisted that Jews must always shew themselves proud of their distinctive inheritance, he yet encouraged them to serve in the army and take their share in the life of England. His position with regard to Biblical criticism corresponded with this general attitude. While welcoming the newer historical methods, he

was conservative of ancient landmarks. These volumes may be profitably studied as an index to what is best and most characteristic in the modern Hebrew mind.

But they have a value beyond this. No doubt Mr. Singer was among the best preachers of his day. His sermons and addresses possess literary distinction of no mean order. They are the product of a reverent mind and devout spirit. About his addresses to children there is a singular beauty, which fully justifies the glowing admiration with which his friend and pupil, Miss Montagu, has described their powerful fascination. It is always a pleasure to acknowledge a large tolerance, not to say genuine sympathy, which is not gained at the expense of loyal conviction.

Christ in the Old Testament. Being Short Readings on some Messianic Passages. By B. W. RANDOLPH, D.D., Principal of Ely Theological College. With a brief Introduction by the BISHOP OF SALISBURY. (Longmans.) 4s. net.

THE author truly says that 'the swing of the pendulum has gone far in the direction of denying all predictive elements in the Old Testament,' and this volume may be welcomed, not only as a useful and popular commentary on those passages which Jews and Christians have regarded as containing special Messianic reference, but as a wholesome corrective of the common tendency to reduce the history of Israel to the level of mere naturalism. To a competent scholarship Dr. Randolph adds a devotional method of treatment, which makes these studies not only light to the understanding but food for the spiritual life. We are not, however, sure whether he has fully realized the extent to which historical criticism of the Old Testament affects our conception of predictive prophecy. It is quite true that our Lord and His Apostles have by their own use of the ancient Scriptures abundantly justified the method of particular appeal. But the exegesis is often so free, not to say apparently arbitrary, that its legitimacy can only be appreciated when it is fully recognized that what is primarily Messianic is the whole fabric of Israel's history. To insist upon this principle is not to appeal in a general way to 'the spirit of the Old Testament,' which the writer justly deprecates. But it shifts the emphasis from words to facts. In some instances a freer treatment is required than Dr. Randolph has given. Is it not, for example, precarious to insist upon the *Almah* of Isaiah vii. 14, with its LXX rendering

παθένος as having created an expectancy of an event so remote from Hebrew ideas as the Virgin-Birth? May not the very unexpectedness of the reference enhance the credibility of the Christian tradition? A similar want of a broad treatment may be noticed in the case of the Suffering Servant. The Targumist's reference of Isaiah liii. to the Messiah is of minor importance. What does matter is that the Resurrection convinced the disciples that the Messiah, who recapitulated the story of Israel, must fulfil in His own person that picture of a vicarious atonement with which in a vividly personal form the sufferings of the Exile had inspired the Evangelical Prophet. And, lastly, there is surely no need to account for the primitive reference of Malachi i. 2 to the Eucharist by postulating predictive announcement. It is sufficiently explained by the fact that the Eucharist is the Christian Sacrificial Feast. And it is difficult to imagine why Dr. Randolph should lay stress on the future tense of the verb in this passage, when the LXX translates by *προσάγεται* and fathers like Justin and Irenaeus quote it as present.

Abba, Father. By the Rev. W. LOWRIE, M.A. (Longmans. 1908.) 5s. net.

THE main purpose which Mr. Lowrie has in writing is to emphasize how all the teaching of our Lord as expressed in the Lord's Prayer is based upon His own personal experience. This experience was essentially religious and truly human. The consideration of our Lord's inner consciousness is a matter of extreme difficulty, and the author has not sufficiently appreciated how our Lord's consciousness of unique Sonship bears upon the whole matter. This consciousness unquestionably differentiates our Lord's experience from that of other men in no small degree—to what precise extent we cannot say; and it is fundamental to the authority with which He was felt to speak by the people. 'God hath in these last days spoken unto us in His Son.' This must produce a certain reserve of judgement upon many things in the Gospel history—more so than follows from the recognition of the Messianic consciousness, with its supernatural significance. Mr. Lowrie prefers the language of pragmatism to the language of the Creeds, and complains that to speak of Jesus as of the same substance with God seems 'lamentably inadequate.' We could possibly understand anyone ignorant of Church History making such a remark, but it is surprising from one with any knowledge

of the fourth century, and of the hesitation and conflict which had to be endured before men's minds were satisfied about the language adopted. It has always been recognized that the Latin terms were less satisfactory than the Greek. With this period of history in mind we cannot feel that it is sufficient to define only the unique *importance* of Jesus; for this, to quote Browning, 'would not make Him God, if God He were not.' The Church will be satisfied with nothing less than a clear and positive affirmation of this belief. It is on this ground that we do not hesitate to say that the consciousness of unique Sonship is more fundamental than the supernatural significance of the title Christ, and can never again give way to it. May we point out to Mr. Lowrie that the language of the Creed is 'of one substance with the Father,' and not, as he quotes it, 'with God'?

There are other expressions in this book with which we are not satisfied, notably where Mr. Lowrie speaks of the material universe as the Body of God, and God as the soul of the universe; for, however much he may limit the meaning of the analogy in his own mind, it inevitably conveys a pantheistic suggestion to other people.

The meaning of the several petitions is, as we noticed above, considered only from the standpoint of the earthly life, and in the application of this we find how it affects the outlook. For instance, in the prayer for the Kingdom the eschatological significance is rightly treated as primary, but to admit this does not mean that for us the practical meaning of the prayer is that 'to depart and be with Christ is far better.' Yet this conclusion is what Mr. Lowrie's method leads him to adopt, and may serve to illustrate the need of carefully appreciating his aim before reading the sections which deal with the application of the historical meaning to the present.

In the section entitled 'The Eucharist' there is an interesting passage on our Lord's practice of breaking the bread as He blessed it; but we can only regret that Mr. Lowrie feels free to speak of the feeding of the five thousand as having become the subject of legend; of our Lord's death as 'a hero's, a martyr's death, for His friends'; and of the Blessed Sacrament as expressing our Lord's desire to be remembered. His words are: 'I can conceive of no higher view of the Lord's Supper than that which associated with every common meal the memory of Jesus' life and death, the conviction of His abiding presence, and the expectation of His return in glory.'

There is much in the book which we can thoroughly commend,

even for general readers ; but, as we have tried to make clear, there is insufficient recognition of the warning voice of history as to the need of most carefully chosen language in statement of doctrine.

V.—MISSIONS.

George Brown, D.D., Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer. An Autobiography. With III Illustrations and Map. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1909.) 15s. net.

DR. BROWN says in his short preface, 'I have written this account of my life very unwillingly, in deference to the oft-repeated wishes of my many friends and of the Conference to which I belong.' It is well that the wishes were expressed and yielded to. The book not only deals with one of the most fascinating of subjects—pioneer missions in the South Seas—but is full of details, often valuable as well as interesting, which only Dr. Brown himself could have supplied. Moreover, his style is never ponderous, but always clear, natural, and vivid ; humorous and pathetic narrative alike come easily to him—an even greater merit than usual in a work so large and so diversified. The candid account of his boyhood and early youth, the description of the Samoan people and the few well-selected episodes from his fifteen years' ministry among them, the painful chapter on 'Tongan Affairs,' the brief but cheerful and inspiring tale of the commencement of missionary work in New Guinea and New Georgia, with other main events of his later career as General Secretary for Wesleyan Missions in Australasia and the Pacific—each and all of these has its own special interest, and none should be passed over, even by the general reader. But, nevertheless, the finest part of the book is that which is rightly treated at the greatest length—the narrative of Dr. Brown's labours in New Britain and New Ireland. They lasted for five years only (1875–80), but in that short time they completely changed even the outward aspect of land and people.¹ When he first went there the men of neighbouring villages lived in constant dread of one another, and seldom went unarmed ; when he left, some five hundred men from all parts of the islands met together without the least fear to bid him good-bye ; and this one contrast is significant of a thousand others. (The chapter modestly entitled 'Some Incidents' will well repay careful study.) Between the lines of Dr. Brown's narrative the mixture of fearlessness and tact then

¹ See, *e.g.*, the letter of the Rev. B. Danks, pp. 398–402.

required of a missionary meets us at every turn ; so do the hardships and dangers of incessant voyages across stormy seas and along unknown coasts ; while many amusing incidents connected with native customs, etc., relieve the strain on the reader's attention. One word more. This book contains little or nothing to jar upon the feelings of Churchpeople. We are sometimes apt to dwell too exclusively on our own missionary efforts. It is well for us to read such a work as Dr. Brown's, if only that we may realize how nobly the Kingdom of Christ has been extended among savage races by men not of our own communion—notably, perhaps, by Wesleyan missionaries in the South Seas.

The Life and Work of E. J. Peck among the Eskimos. By the Rev. ARTHUR LEWIS. Third Edition. (Hodder and Stoughton. 1908.) Price 3s. 6d. net.

WE have already reviewed the First Edition of this book, published in 1904. In the present edition Mr. Lewis has found it impossible for various reasons, to alter or even add to his previous narrative. With one exception, therefore—that of the map facing p. 20—the only new thing in this edition is the preface. In this the author tells the melancholy story of the enforced abandonment of Blacklead Island as a base for missionary operations, owing to the precariousness of the sea voyage thither, which delayed the annual supplies, and brought the European workers perilously near starvation. Happily, this does not necessarily mean the abandonment of Mr. Peck's Eskimo converts. A resolute effort is being made to re-start the mission from a new base—the island of Ashe Inlet in Hudson Strait—which, if successful, will allow Blacklead Island to be made an out-station, under native catechists, who will be visited from Ashe Inlet. God prosper the new undertaking, and grant it success, safety, and permanence !

VI.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

Charlotte Mary Yonge. An Appreciation. By ETHEL ROMANES. (Mowbray. 1908.) 2s. 6d. net.

THE title of this book would have stood more correctly : *An Appreciation of Charlotte Mary Yonge through her Writings.* The volume of two hundred pages mentions no less than eighty

of her books by name, adds a short review or *précis* of the contents of twenty-one, and gives fairly long quotations from eleven. This cursory review of magazines edited from 1851 to 1899, of novels, historical romances, biographies, missionary, religious and educational books, ends, on pages 176-78, with a good analysis of the literary power and limitations of their prolific author. The enormous output of her writings may be partly gauged by the astonishing fact, that, while eighty of her books are mentioned in the *Appreciation*, the names of more than a hundred others are omitted!

As a combined catalogue and commentary of selections, this book cannot fail to be appreciated by Miss Yonge's numerous surviving admirers. It carries them back to the days of their youth. As the whiff of some country smell invariably recalls to us distant childish memories of the fragrance of cowslip balls, or the fustiness of the baize-lined pew of the unrestored village church, so do the well-known titles of the *Heir of Redclyffe* and of the tales that succeeded it revive a crowd of recollections within our elderly breasts: recollections of our youthful selves as ardent devotees of Guy and Ethel; as lovers of history because of the beguiling delights of the *Landmarks* and *Cameos*, and of the sense of personal intimacy with the paladins of old acquired in reading the historical romances; as kindled with glowing admiration for the doers of *Golden Deeds*¹; and as thrilled with a sense of adventure on our first introduction to 'fast people,' in *Hopes and Fears*, under the respectable chaperonage of Miss Yonge! Other authors may be greater than she; but, as one of the radiant trio who led many of us for the first time into the fairyland of Romance, Miss Yonge, with the creators of *Ivanhoe* and *Kehama*, will, for ever in our eyes, stand crowned with Olympian glory.

We had hoped that an *Appreciation* would have given us fresh details of the life of this benefactor of our youth; but in that respect the book brings disappointment. Less than its third part is devoted to biography. The first and the last two chapters give us interesting particulars concerning Miss Yonge's childhood and later days; but, with the exception of a few scattered fragments, nothing is told us in the intervening chapters of the rest of her eventless life. Extracts are given in chapter i from *A Real Childhood*, an article written by her, recording her

¹ A charming little edition of this book has been added to the 'Golden Treasury' series (Macmillan. 1905).

early recollections ; and chapter ix contains an account of Miss Wordsworth's impressions of Miss Yonge in her middle age. Both these chapters are so charming and pictorial that they intensify our regret that we are not presented here with more of these vivid sketches. One other source is, however, drawn from, viz. *Womankind*. Mrs. Romanes says of this book :

' In *Womankind* she revealed more of her inner self, of the love and devotion to our Lord which were the mainspring of her life, than in any other book. . . . *The Pillars of the House*, perhaps, tells us more of her deep convictions than any other story. But in *Womankind* she now and then allows herself to speak quite freely and from the heart.'

The quotations given us from this volume are well selected. Those on ' Going in ' and on ' Old Age ' are full of shrewd, mellow wisdom.

An interesting point shewing the widening effect on Miss Yonge of her more frequent intercourse in later life with philanthropic workers, is brought out by Lady Frederick Cavendish and by Mrs. Romanes, when they call our attention to the existence ' in her later books of a broader toleration in matters of religion than we meet with in her first stories, although her own convictions remain unchanged ' (p. 199), and :

' Miss Yonge was always hopeful. She writes to Miss Barnett once : " I do not think the mass of the world is as morally bad as it was in the Middle Ages. The great saints and the great sinners are much alike in all times, I suppose, and I am afraid there are fewer ignorant simple saints. But I think the goodness of mediaeval times is altogether a delusion ; and though I do not like " progress cant," I think the good should be owned, and not only the evil ' (p. 181).

And again in another quotation :

' Arthur had made the Round Table his ideal of perfection of mankind and knighthood, and for that very reason arose the quest of the San Greal . . . breaking up the Round Table to the grief and sorrow of Arthur. This it is which befalls every generation unless they live in an age of decadence. Their juniors will not rest with their idea of perfection, but will strain on to something beyond and more their own ' (p. 172).

Such optimism in a Churchwoman bred in the straitest sect of Conservatism may well hearten us in these difficult times.

The *Appreciation* comes with graceful fitness from the original suggester of the address and presentation made to Miss Yonge by 10,000 of her readers, on her seventieth birthday ; the

'wonderful surprise' which perhaps helped her somewhat to realize the great work which God had enabled her to do for His Church.

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. WARD and A. R. WALLER. Vol. III. *Renascence and Reformation.* (Cambridge University Press. 1909.) 9s. net.

THIS volume is not only an important instalment of the work to which it belongs, but also a noteworthy contribution to authoritative literature on the subject with which it deals. It cannot be denied that many of its pages are dull reading; this arises not from the treatment that certain of the sections have received, but from the nature of the material on which the sections are written. These sections are concerned with what may be regarded as backwater. The backwater is not exhilarating, but it must be explored by those who wish to make a perfect acquaintance with the whole stream. The student will, therefore, feel all the more grateful to those conscientious contributors who have undertaken to be his guides, and have laid so clearly before him the nature and the contents of this part of their work.

The Renaissance for Englishmen spells Erasmus, Linacre, Grocyn, Colet, and More. To these names Fisher must be added, and to him and to Erasmus, as being Cambridge luminaries, full justice is naturally done in a work issuing from that University. But their influence on English literature proper is very slight, and merely prepares the way for Elyot, whose *Boke of the Governour* deserved a lengthier notice. The story of the English Bible is clearly and simply set forth in Professor Whitney's chapter on 'Reformation Literature in England,' in which he brings to an end the history of the Religious Movements so ably begun in Vol. II. Valuable side-lights are again forthcoming in the present volume, on the 'Dissolution of the Religious Houses,' and on 'English Universities, Schools and Scholarship in the Sixteenth Century.' Much of this nature is also to be found in a most interesting chapter, all too short, by Dr. Cunliffe, on the 'Mirror for Magistrates,' and in the section on the 'Marpelate Controversy,' by Mr. Dover Wilson, the well-proven expert, whose twenty-five fascinating pages are the 'last word' on this religious-social pamphlet campaign. As Mr. Wilson says, these controversial tracts lie for the most part outside

the purely literary field, but are famous in a peculiarly literary sense for the share taken in them by Lyly, Greene, and Nash. These chapters will prove very popular reading, and will revive an interest in what for some long time seems to have faded out of general notice.

Professor J. W. H. Atkins does yeoman service in his two chapters on 'Elizabethan Prose Fiction' and 'The Language from Chaucer to Shakespeare.' He has to travel over familiar ground, but he does it with admirable judgement, and points out with expert observation all that those should notice who make the journey with him; his racy description of Deloney's work is admirable. Though necessarily less attractive, the chapter on the Language is very invitingly written. Very interesting, too, is the chapter by Mr. Whibley on 'Chroniclers and Antiquaries,' and we shall read with great interest his contribution to Vol. IV on Elizabethan translators.

The middle of the volume is occupied by important chapters from Drs. Courthope and Sidney Lee, and Professor Saintsbury. Dr. Courthope deals with Spenser, and makes an able exposition of his views, not likely to go unchallenged. Dr. Sidney Lee speaks his usual words of wisdom on the sonnet, and once again shews how little originality is to be found in the Elizabethan and earlier sonneteers, and that the sonnet is the metrical exercise in which the poet of the time had perforce to shew his ability. This able chapter is full of the results of Dr. Lee's almost exhaustive research. Once again Professor Saintsbury gives us of his best in 'Prosody from Chaucer to Spenser' and in 'Elizabethan Criticism'; the summary to the latter chapter is one of the most illuminating passages in the volume.

It remains to speak of Dr. Foakes-Jackson's 'Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity,' for which the student of English literature will be profoundly grateful. The first paragraph rivets the attention, and excites an expectation which is amply satisfied. The interest is sustained by the biographical details which work in most appositely to the development of the subject; the quotations are just enough to serve the double purpose of illustrating the argument and of exhibiting Hooker's style; and the temperate and judicious comments are a model of impartial criticism.

The Tale of Queen Rosana : or The Story of Rosana and Aulimento.

Translated from the fourteenth-century Italian, with an Introduction. By M. MANSFIELD. (David Nutt. 1909.) 2s. net.

THIS well-printed and daintily embellished little volume presents us with an able translation of the graceful mediaeval Tale of Rosana from the pen of Miss Mansfield, who is already favourably known through her *Life of Saint Fina*, the patroness of San Gemignano in Tuscany. The chequered course of the pure loves of Queen Rosana and of Prince Aulimento with their Christian moral is charmingly rendered in this translation; whilst in the *Introduction* the reader will find all necessary information concerning the origin, development, and aim of this once popular tale of the Middle Ages. The Tale itself, quaint and touching, forms a fair specimen of the usual edifying Christian legends told and re-told amongst bands of crusading soldiers or of peaceful pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land.

Oxford Lectures on Poetry. By A. C. BRADLEY, formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. (London: Macmillan and Co. 1909.) 10s. net.

MR. BRADLEY, by common consent, was the most impressive of recent occupants of the distinguished chair which he held at Oxford, the one whose lectures attracted and retained most effectually the sympathies and the approbation of the critical Oxford public to which they were delivered. One series of these lectures, devoted to the interpretation of Shakespeare, is familiar to all Shakespearian students. The second, now before us, covers a wider field, and may fairly be taken as representative of its author's quality. Three lectures deal with the theory of poetry in various aspects; four with the great Georgian era, and primarily with Shelley, Wordsworth, and Keats; four with Shakespeare. The subjects are trite; from the purely literary point of view it might be thought that little was left to be said of them. On subjects such as these the purely literary critic does in fact usually tell us little that is new, though he may charm us by his manner of saying it, and recall us to beauties known, indeed, but not recently contemplated. But Mr. Bradley's point of view is not that of the purely literary critic. He is a philosopher not less than an ardent lover of poetry; the psychological interest enters in

and is intertwined with the poetical, and the result is a fresh and individual study, which the most learned or the most devoted reader of Wordsworth or Shakespeare may find stimulating. We do not always agree with him—his utterance would not be so personal if we did; but we are always interested in him, and (what is more) we are sent back with fresh zest to the poets of whom he writes. We therefore cordially recommend this volume to the lovers of English literature, and place it high among the series which the Oxford Chair of Poetry has produced.

1. *La Religion de Milton : thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris.* Par PAUL CHAUVET. (Paris : Didier. 1909.)
2. *J. Milton's Treatise on Education.* Edited with a Preface and Notes by PAUL CHAUVET. (Paris : Didier. 1909.)

FRENCH teachers and students have of late been paying much attention to English literature, and have made considerable contributions both to criticism and to biography. M. Huchon's work on Crabbe, and Mlle. Merlette's on Mrs. Browning, are perhaps the most important of these. M. Chauvet's two theses, dealing with Milton, are not quite of the same calibre or the same interest, but they represent solid and serious work of real value. They are, however, of more importance to French readers than to English. The *Treatise on Education* has been reprinted more than once; M. Chauvet's text is a reprint of the *editio princeps* of 1644, accompanied by explanatory notes of a very elementary character. The larger work, dealing with Milton's religion, includes a very careful survey of Milton's various works; but it is too detached and unsympathetic in tone to be wholly satisfactory. It is impossible to give an adequate presentation of the Puritan writers, or, indeed, of any writers in whose work religion is a vital element, unless the critic has the power to enter by sympathy into their religious feelings. Their religious dogmas may be set down in black and white, but the relation of their religion to their work cannot be fully appreciated from outside; and a Frenchman of the twentieth century may well find it difficult to enter into Milton's point of view. Subject to this proviso, M. Chauvet may be congratulated on his performance of a laborious and difficult piece of work.

PERIODICALS.

The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. XI. No. 41. October 1909. Frowde). C. H. Turner: 'Historical Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the N.T. IV. The Languages of the Early Church: (A) Greek and the Greek Bible.' With a Note on Rom. xv 19 (Illyricum). J. H. A. Hart: 'Philo and the Catholic Judaism of the First Century.' H. M. Bannister: 'The *Vetus Italia* Text of the *Exultet*.' T. A. Lacey: 'The Two Witnesses' (Apoc. xi 3 = 'the witness of men, which is for us the tradition of the Christian Church, and the witness of the Spirit dwelling in the hearts of believers'). F. C. Burkitt: 'The Oldest MS. of St. Justin's Martyrdom.' The Scrivener Fragments in Cambridge University Library, with collations. E. Bishop: 'Liturgical Comments and Memoranda, III. On Mr. W. E. Crum's 'Greek [= Egyptian] Diptych of the Seventh Century.' W. C. Bishop: 'The Festivals of St. James and St. John in the Mozarabic Kalendar.' E. Day: 'The Deuteronomic Judgements of the Kings of Judah.' C. C. J. Webb: 'Von Hügel *Mystical Element of Religion*' (10½ pp.). J. Gibb: 'H. Becker *Augustin: Studien zu seiner geistigen Entwicklung*.' J. H. A. Hart: 'Bréhier *Philon, Commentaire allégorique des saintes lois*.' E. W. Brooks: 'Nau *Histoire et Sagesse d'Alihar*.' M. R. James: 'Crum *Catalogue of Coptic MSS. in the John Rylands Library*.' J. H. Srawley: 'Stone *Doctrine of the Eucharist*.' J. K. Mozley: 'F. J. Hall *Dogmatic Theology, II-III*.' W. N. Clarke *Christian Doctrine of God*.' 'Foley *Anselm's Theory of the Atonement*.' J. F. Bethune-Baker: 'Maclear and Williams *Introduction to the Articles*' (critical). E. W. Watson: 'M. W. Patterson *History of the Church of England*.' G. Baskerville: 'Cabrol *L'Angleterre chrétienne avant les Normands*' (critical). S. A. Cook: 'Le Roy *La Religion des Primitifs*.' 'Driver *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible*.' 'H. Gressmann *Altorientalische Texte u. Bilder zum A.T.*' (laudatory). 'Geden *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*.' J. F. Bethune-Baker: 'F. W. Worsley *The Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists*.' 'Richmond *The Creed in the Epistles*.' G. Milligan: 'Deissmann *Licht vom Osten*.' A. E. Brooke: 'R. Law *The Tests of Life*.' P. C. T. Crick: 'R. Scott *The Pauline Epistles*.' A. Souter: 'Bardenhewer *Patrology*' [E.T.]; 'Oger et Laurent *Les Pères Apostoliques, I-II*' ('admirable in every respect'); 'Heer *Die Versio Latina des Barnabasbriefes*' (3 pp.); 'Lupton *Tertulliani de Baptismo*' (critical); 'Souter *Ps-Augustini Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti CXXVII*.' 'Chrysostomika, I.' 'Petschenig *S. Aur. Augustini Scripta c. Donatistas, I*.' 'Gibb and Montgomery *Confessions of Augustine*.' 'Vogels *St. Augustins Schrift De Consensu Evangelistarum*.' 'Heinrici *Des Petrus von Laodicea Erklärung des Matthäusevangeliums*' (important).

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. VIII. No. 1. October 1909. Williams and Norgate). A. Harnack: 'Germany and England' [E.1]. S. McComb: 'The Christian Religion as a Healing Power.' J. Naylor: 'Luke the Physician and Ancient Medicine.' S. Alexander: 'Ptolemaic and Copernican Views of the Place of Mind in the Universe.' A. Fawkes: 'Modernism: a Retrospect and a Prospect.' R. Roberts: 'Jesus or Christ? A Rejoinder.' E. Troeltsch: 'Calvin and Calvinism.' B. P. Bowne: 'Darwin and Darwinism.' F. G. Peabody: 'A Paladin of Philanthropy' [Dr. S. T. Howe]. Sir W. J. Collins: 'Crime and Punishment.' F. R. Tennant: 'Historical Fact in Relation to Philosophy of Religion.' Discussions. A. Seth Pringle-Pattison: 'H. Jones *Idealism as a Practical Creed*' (6 pp.). W. R. Sorley: 'W. James *A Pluralistic Universe*' (5½ pp.). W. R. Inge: 'R. M. Jones *Studies in Mystical Religion*.' St. G. Stock: 'Clarke *Christian Doctrine of God*.' G. E. Ffrench: 'Figgis *The Gospel and Human Needs*' and 'Peile *Ecclesia Discens*.' T. K. Cheyne: 'Charles *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*' (4 pp.). H. J. D.

Astley: 'Cheyne Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah.' J. Moffatt: 'B. W. Bacon The Beginnings of Gospel Story.'

The London Quarterly Review (No. 224. October 1909. R. Culley). A. E. Garvie: 'The Modern Challenge to Foreign Missions.' E. Grubb: 'The Problem of the Unemployed.' W. T. Davison: 'Lights and Shadows of Mystical Religion.' E. Walker: 'Lucretius: the Precursor of Modern Science.' W. F. Lofthouse: 'The Reconstruction of the World of the Hebrews.' J. Agar Beet: 'Holiness, Symbolic and Real.' F. Lawrence: 'Frederic Chopin.' (The late) P. C. Ainsworth: 'The Ethical Emphasis in Modern Religious Teaching.' W. B. Fitzgerald: 'The Larger Education.' W. T. Davison: 'Charles Darwin: 1809-1859-1909.' J. Telford: 'A New History of Methodism.' R. W. Moss: 'W. J. Moulton The Witness of Israel.' J. S. Banks: 'The Theologia Germanica.' 'Geden Introduction to the Hebrew Bible.' 'C. E. Woods The Gospel of Rightness' (critical). 'J. Wilson How God has spoken' (favourable). 'Lützwow Life and Times of Hus.' 'Moss Rev. W. B. Pope, D.D., Theologian and Saint.' 'J. B. Purvis Through Uganda to Mt. Elgon.' 'Tatchell Medical Missions in China in connexion with the Wesleyan Methodist Church.'

The Dublin Review (Vol. CXLV. No. 291. October 1909. Burns and Oates). H. Thurston, S.J.: 'The Catholic Disabilities Bill.' R. Grey: 'Maria Edgeworth and Etienne Dumont.' W. Ward: 'The Tennyson Centenary. Tennyson's Religious Poetry.' Mgr. Moyes: 'St. Anselm of Canterbury,' II. G. A. Elrington: 'Epigenesis and Preformation in Organic Development.' M. M. Maxwell Scott: 'A Medieval Princess. Mme. Loyse de Savoye, 1462-1503.' R. H. Benson: 'Spiritualism.' B. C. A. W[indle]: 'Wasmann Problems of Evolution'; 'Squire The Mythology of the British Isles (unfavourable); 'Bateson Mendel's Principles of Heredity'; 'F. Smith The Stone Ages.' 'Sellar Bede's Ecclesiastical History [E.T.]. 'Vernon Readings on the Paradiso of Dante' (3 pp.) 'Cripps Lyra Evangelistica' ('True poetry': by an Anglican Missionary in Mashonaland). 'Bradley Oxford Lectures on Poetry' (5 pp.). 'Eccles A Century of French Poets' (3 pp.). 'Hasbach History of the English Labourer.' 'Fr. Cuthbert Chronicle of Thomas of Eccleston.'

The Irish Church Quarterly (Vol. II. No. 8. October 1909. Dublin: 61 Middle Abbey Street). C. I. Graham: 'Methods of Episcopal Appointment.' A. E. Johnston: 'Was John the Son of Zebedee a Priest?' (Answers 'Yes.') Very Rev. V. Staley: 'The Narrative of the Institution of the Eucharist and the accompanying External Gestures.' R. T. Byrn: 'The Last Discourse. St. John xv-xvii. A Supplement and a Reply.' E. König: 'Poetry and Prose in the Old Testament,' II. E. M. C. Jellett: 'Dante as a Religious Teacher.' St. G. S[tock]: 'Transactions of the Third International Congress of the History of Religions.' C. I. G[raham]: 'Driver and Sanday Christianity and other Religions.' L. A. P[ooler]: 'Radau Bel—the Christ of Ancient Times.' 'Hastings Dictionary of the Bible.' H. J. L[awlor]: 'Harnack Acts of the Apostles [E.T.]. 'Schmiedel The Johannine Writings.' F. E. W[arren]: 'J. Armitage Robinson and M. R. James The MSS. of Westminster Abbey' and 'J. Armitage Robinson Flete's History of Westminster Abbey.'

The Irish Theological Quarterly (Vol. IV. No. 16. October 1909. Dublin: M. H. Gill). L. Walker, S.J.: 'Truth and Toleration.' D. Barry: 'Fair Prices and Methods at Auctions.' F. E. Gigot: 'The Mosaic Authorship of Deuteronomy.' T. Slater, S.J.: 'Repetition of Extreme Unction.' H. Pope: '"He shall be saved, yet so as by Fire."' P. Coffey: 'Scholasticism and Modern Thought.' 'The Biblical Commission and the first three Chapters of Genesis.' Latin Text. J. MacRory: 'Dummelow One Volume Bible Commentary'; 'Verdunoy L'Évangile'; 'F. A. Jones The Dates of Genesis'; 'Mader Die Menschenopfer des alten Hebräer.' J. M. Harty: 'The Catholic Encyclopedia, V.' J. MacCaffrey:

'Nolan *The Irish Dames of Ypres*'; 'Bigg *Origins of Christianity*.' P. J. Toner: 'Cathrein *Die Frauenfrage*'; 'Tixeront *Histoire des Dogmes*, II'; 'Oesterley *Doctrine of the Last Things*'; 'Thamiry *Les deux Aspects de l'Immanence et le Problème Religieux*'; 'Copleston *Buddhism in Magadha and in Ceylon*.' 'The Old Faith and the New Theology.'

The Interpreter (Vol. VI. No. 1. October 1909. Simpkin, Marshall). W. Sanday: 'A Christian's Attitude towards Old and New.' Sermon on St. Matt. xix 12. F. B. Jevons: 'Miracles and the Science of Religion.' C. F. Burney: 'David as Poet.' H. D. A. Major: 'The Kingdom of God.' A. Carus-Wilson: 'The Vision of the Divine Glory.' W. T. Whitley: 'Technical Language in the N.T.' H. Johnson: 'Jordan and Labanca *Religion in the Italian Universities*'; 'E. A. Abbott *The Message of the Son of Man*.' H. W. Hogg: 'Orientalia. (1) Archaeology; (2) Babylonian Psalm Literature.' F. L. Norris: 'The Healing of the Paralytic at Capernaum. A Note on St. Matt. ix 5.' 'Chadwick *Pastoral Teaching of St. Paul*.' 'Macfarland *Christian Ministry and the Social Order*.'

The American Journal of Theology (Vol. XIII. No. 4. October 1909. Chicago University Press). H. R. Mackintosh: 'Does the Historical Study of Religions yield a Dogmatic Theology?' G. H. Gilbert: 'The Hellenization of the Jews between 334 B.C. and 70 A.D.' E. S. Ames: 'Non-religious Persons.' J. R. Slattery: 'The Workings of Modernism.' B. C. Ewer: 'Veridical Aspects of Mystical Experience.' H. Chandra Sarkar: 'Present-Day Religious Tendencies in India.' E. J. Goodspeed: 'Notes on the Freer Gospels.' E. Nestle: 'John Mill on the Latin Gospels.' H. P. Smith: 'R. C. Thompson *Semitic Magic*' and 'Hubert et Mauss *Mélanges d'histoire des Religions*.' A. H. Godbey: 'S. A. Cook *Critical Notes on O.T. History*.' S. J. Case: 'Gregory *Einleitung in das N.T.*' B. W. Bacon: 'Wendling *Entstehung des Marcus-Evangeliums*.' G. Cross: 'Windisch *Taufe u. Sunde im ältesten Christentum bis auf Origenes*'; 'O. Ritschl *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*, I.' E. J. Goodspeed: 'Ragg *The Church of the Apostles*' and 'Bigg *Origins of Christianity*.' G. H. Gilbert: 'Influence of Greek Thought on Christianity.' G. Cross: 'J. de la Servièrre *La théologie de Bellarmin*' and 'Heussi *Compendium der Kirchengeschichte*.' S. Mathews: 'Foley *Anselm's Theory of the Atonement*.' C. A. Dinsmore: 'W. H. V. Reade *The Moral System of Dante's "Inferno"*.' G. W. Gilmore: 'Foucart *La methode comparative dans l'histoire des religions*' and 'Le Roy *La religion des primitifs*' (favourable). D. C. Macintosh: 'Wenley *Modern Thought and the Crisis in Belief*'; 'Bavinck *The Philosophy of Revelation*'; 'Lodge *Science and Immortality*.' A. H. Lloyd: 'Münsterberg *The Eternal Values*.' A. K. Parker: 'J. P. Jones *India. Its Life and Thought*.' 'W. G. Jordan *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought*.' 'Dummelow *One Volume Commentary on the Bible*.' 'Sir H. Thompson *The Coptic (Sahidic) Version of Certain Books of the O.T.*'

The Princeton Theological Review (Vol. VII. No. 4. October 1909. Princeton University Press). É. Doumergue: 'Music in the Work of Calvin.' B. B. Warfield: 'Calvin's Doctrine of the Trinity' (100 pp.). W. J. Beecher: 'New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia, III'; 'Jacobus-Nourse-Zenos *Standard Bible Dictionary*.' W. B. Green, jr.: 'Bavinck *Philosophy of Revelation*' (4 pp. favourable); 'J. C. Murray *Handbook of Christian Ethics*' ('Christian Ethics with the Christianity left out'). G. Vos: 'Couard *Die Religiösen u. Sittlichen Anschauungen des alttestamentlichen Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen*.' J. G. Machen: 'Schmiedel *The Johannine Writings*' (5 pp.). W. P. Armstrong: 'Leipoldt *Geschichte des N.T. Kanons*, I-II.' B. B. Warfield: 'Gibb and Montgomery *Confessions of Augustine*' (5 pp. 'excellent'). C. W. Hodge: 'Stalker *The Atonement*.' C. R. Erdman: 'J. P. Jones *India. Its Life and Thought*' ('fascinating').

The Review and Expositor (Vol. VI. No. 4. October 1909. Louisville, Ky.). A. H. Sayce: 'The Influence of the Sudan upon Jewish History.' G. B. Eager: 'Calvin as a Civic and Social Influence.' A. H. Newman: 'The Calvinism of Calvin.' A. T. Robertson: 'Calvin as an Interpreter.' W. J. McGlothlin: 'Dr. Daniel Featley and the first Calvinistic Baptist Confession.' A. G. Weld: 'Tennyson's Religious Life.' D. F. Estes: 'Some Thoughts as to the Effects of the Death of Christ.' S. N. Roach: 'The Epistle to the Hebrews studied through its Inductive Logical Forms, shewing the Logical Incentive to Service.' W. O. Carver: 'C. H. Hall *Christ and the Eastern Soul*'; 'Clark *The Gospel in Latin Lands*'; 'Bavinck *Philosophy of Revelation*.' B. H. De Ment: 'Clarke *Christian Doctrine of God*' (6 pp.); 'Orr *Sidelights on Christian Doctrine*.' W. J. McGlothlin: 'R. M. Jones *Studies in Mystical Religion*'; 'Sheldon *Sacerdotalism in the XIXth Century*'; 'Foley *Anselm's Theory of the Atonement*'; 'J. W. Thompson *Wars of Religion in France, 1559-76*'; 'F. P. Graves *History of Education before the Middle Ages*.' A. T. Robertson: 'Clemen *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des N.T.*'; 'E. A. Abbott *Message of the Son of Man*'; 'H. St. J. Thackeray *Grammar of the O.T. in Greek*' ('a noble undertaking'). A. H. Newman: 'Turmel *Histoire du Dogme de la Papauté*.' C. S. Gardner: 'Devine *Misery and its Causes*' [by the Secretary of the New York C.O.S.]; 'C. H. Cooley *Social Organization*' (favourable). E. Y. Mullins: 'The South in the Building of the Nation, VII, X.'

The Expositor (N.S. Nos. 46-48. October-December 1909. Hodder and Stoughton). C. Clemen: 'The Dependence of Early Christianity upon Judaism' (Nov. 'upon non-Jewish Religions'). Sir A. R. Simpson: 'Mary of Bethany; Mary of Magdala; and Anonyma.' A. Carr: 'The Meaning of 'Ο ΚΟΣΜΟΣ in James iii 6.' A. E. Garvie: 'Studies in the Pauline Theology. X. The Work of the Spirit' (Nov. XI. 'The Body of Christ.' Dec. XII. 'The Heavenly Citizenship'). Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'Historical Commentary on 1 Timothy, XIII (*contd.* November-December). R. H. Strachan: 'The Christ of the Fourth Gospel, I (II, Nov.; III, Dec.). E. H. Askwith: 'The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel. III. The Betrayal' (Nov. IV. 'The Trial of Jesus.' Dec. V. 'The Crucifixion'). J. Moffatt: 'Opera Foris. Material for the Preacher.' November. J. B. Mayor: 'Did Christ contemplate the Admission of the Gentiles into the Kingdom of Heaven?' B. W. Eerdmans: 'The Passover and the Days of Unleavened Bread.' December. R. Winterbotham: 'On the Omniscience of our Lord.' T. P. Grierison: 'N.T. Miracles and Modern Healings.' C. W. Emmet: 'Should the *Magnificat* be ascribed to Elisabeth?'

The Expository Times (Vol. XXI. Nos. 1-3. October-December 1909. T. and T. Clark). P. T. Forsyth: 'The Faith of Jesus.' J. Rendel Harris: 'Clauda or Cauda? A Study in Acts xxvii 16.' R. M. Pope: 'Studies in Pauline Vocabulary. I. Of the Triumph-Joy' (II. Dec. 'Of a Good Degree'). S. R. Driver: 'The Ideals of the Prophets.' Sermon on Is. xxxv 1. A. Büchler: 'The Law of Purification in Mark vii 1-23.' J. Denney: 'The Word *Hate* in Luke xiv 26.' R. Law: '1 John iii 19-20.' E. Nestle: 'Epiusios in Hebrew and Aramaic.' F. W. S. O'Neill: 'The Foundation Sacrifice.' W. P. Paterson: 'Warneck *Die Lebenskräfte des Evangeliums*.' Zahn *Introduction to the N.T.* 'M. Trevelyan *The Folk-Lore of Wales*.' A. H. Sayce: 'Naville *Une Interprétation Égyptienne d'un Texte biblique: 1. Découverte de la Loi sous le roi Josias*' (Paper read before the French-Academy. November. Sir W. M. Ramsay: (1) 'Gaius, Martyr at Ancyra in Galatia'; (2) 'The Armed Priestesses in the Hittite Religion.' 'A Study in Translation' (St. John xiv 1). J. Denney: 'Love.' A. H. Sayce: 'What was the Scene of Abraham's Sacrifice?' S. Langdon: 'The Name Abraham in

Babylonian.' H. H. B. Ayles: '2 Cor. iii 17.' C. J. Ball: 'Had the Fourth Gospel an Aramaic Archetype?' E. Nestle: 'Hebr. iii 8, 15.' A. T. Fryer: 'The Corpse Candle.' Walker *The Gospel of Reconciliation or At-one-ment.* 'Mason G. H. Wilkinson.' J. G. Tasker: 'Schaeder *Theologie u. Geschichte.*' 'Gwatkin *Early Church History.*' December. H. R. Mackintosh: 'The Revival of Kenoticism.' A. N. Bogle: 'The Book with the Seven Seals. An Essay in Interpretation.' L. H. Mills: 'Identity in Creeds without Historical Connexion.' G. R. Macphail: '"As the hart panteth after the water-brooks" (Ps. xlii 1).' A. S. Martin: '"Why callest thou Me good?"' H. F. B. Compston: 'The Prophet's Profit (1 Sam. ix 7).' W. S. Walpole and D. R. Fotheringham: 'John xiv 1.' E. Nestle: 'Adam.' H. J. D. Astley: 'The Foundation Sacrifice.' 'Dr. Sanday's Address at the Presentation of his Portrait.' 'Weiss, *Paul and Jesus.*' 'J. M. Thompson *S. Mark.*' 'Stanton *The Gospels as Historical Documents, II.*'

The Churchman (N.S. Vol. XXIII. Nos. 46-48. October-December 1909. E. Stock). A. H. Sayce: 'What is meant by the Torah?' Ven. A. E. Moule: 'Christian Truth in the Far East.' A. Galton: 'The Decay of the Church of Rome.' F. L. H. Millard: 'Some Thoughts on Church Reform.' Canon Girdlestone: 'Hints on the Use of the Voice,' I (II, Nov.; III, Dec.). A. J. S. Downer: 'The Pulpit and the Stage.' H. C. Lees: 'Studies in Texts: Sermon Suggestions from Current Literature' (continued Nov.-Dec.). 'Glover *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire.*' 'Figgis *The Gospel and Human Needs.*' 'Geden *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible.*' 'Mansfield *College Essays.*' 'Oesterley *Doctrine of the Last Things.*' 'Hoyt *The Preacher.*' November. Bishop of Albany (W. C. Doane): 'The Problem of Home Reunion.' W. R. Inge: 'Jesus Christ and the Social Question.' G. E. White: 'Deuteronomy in Eastern Light.' Canon Ransford: 'The Dearth of Curates.' W. K. Fleming: 'The Fourth Gospel and Lazarus.' J. Orr: 'W. J. Moulton *The Witness of Israel.*' W. St. C. Tisdall: 'Driver *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible.*' 'M. W. Patterson *History of the Church of England.*' 'Sir J. Compton Rickett *Origins and Faith.*' 'J. Rendel Harris *Side-Lights on N.T. Research.*' 'E. E. Holmes *Immortality* (critical). 'A. S. Peake *Christianity: its Nature and its Truth.*' December. Archbishop of the West Indies: 'The Problem of Home Reunion.' E. Stock: 'Mr. Gladstone as a Churchman.' Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson: 'The Disintegrating Influence of Christian Missions.' M. Johnson: 'The Apocalypse: Authorship, Date, Purpose.' 'Townsend-Workman-Eayrs *New History of Methodism.*' 'Biggs *Origins of Christianity.*' 'W. N. Clarke *Christian Doctrine of God.*' 'J. Wilson *How God has spoken.*'

The Catholic World (Vol. XC. Nos. 535-37. October-December 1909. New York). Fr. Cuthbert: 'St. Francis and Socialism.' C. B. Walker: 'A Forgotten Book of Devotions' (The Breviary). W. Wilberforce: 'Froude and Carlyle.' L. O'Donovan: 'Converted Married Ministers and the Priesthood: Should Converted Married Ministers be allowed to retain their Wives and to become Priests?' (Answers 'No.') A. Mercier: 'Catholicism in the Crucible,' I (II, Nov.). 'F. S. Schenck *The Sociology of the Bible*' (By a Reformed Lutheran. Favourable). 'Baudot *The Roman Breviary*' [E.T.]. 'P. de la Gorce *Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française, I.*' 'Wassmann *The Berlin Discussion of the Problem of Evolution.*' November. A. Repplier: 'Catholicism and Authorship.' G. Waddington, S.J.: 'The Darwin Centenary.' W. Wilberforce: 'W. Ward *Ten Personal Studies.*' L. I. Guiney: 'On Catholic Writers and their Handicaps.' 'A. Symons *Romantic Movement in English Poetry.*' 'Carra de Vaux *La Doctrine de l'Islam.*' 'L. de la Vallée-Poussin *Bouddhisme.*' December. R. L.

Mangan, S. J.: 'The Nativity in Early Pageants.' C. Plater, S. J.: 'A Background to Life.' T. V. Moore: 'The Pragmatism of William James.' E. L. Haley: 'Catholics and the Free Library.' A. E. Burke: 'Canada's First Church Council.' 'Denifle *Humanity: its Destiny and the Means to attain it*.' 'A. Loisel *L'Expérience Esthétique et l'Idéal Chrétien*.' 'C. D. Plater *Catholic Social Work in Germany*.'

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